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Berisha, Demirel To Focus on Bilateral Relations

AU1207170695 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 12 Jul 95

[Report by Zamira Koleci]

[FBIS Translated Text] Turkish President Suleyman Demirel arrived at Rinas airport today. This is the second time that the highest representative of the Turkish state has visited our country at a time when bilateral relations know a close cooperation and institutionalization in the political, economic, cultural, and military fields. Albanian President Sali Berisha was out on the landing strip to welcome Turkish President Demirel. After greeting each other, they declared for correspondents:

[Begin Demirel recording in Turkish fading into Albanian translation] Regarding the level of Albanian-Turkish relations at this situation in our region, President Demirel said that Turkey highly assesses the level of responsibility that Albanians and their leadership have in preserving peace and stability in the region and in Europe. We are your brothers, Demirel continued. The Turkish people are ready to do everything in their power to ensure the happiness and well-being of the Albanian people.

The Turkish president considered the relations between the two countries as extremely good and was optimistic, voicing his will to further continue and strengthen these relations. He later spoke about bilateral relations and the situation in the Balkans and in Europe.

We consider Albania a second homeland, Demirel stated. On this occasion, he conveyed his greetings to the Albanian people.

[Begin Berisha recording] The relations between our two countries are very good and I see an excellent prospect in them. President Demirel's visit to Albania is a great impetus and a valuable contribution to boost the friendship and cooperation that exists between our two countries. The main topic of our talks will be bilateral relations. The problems in the Balkans, particularly the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, will, however, occupy an important place because they are related to peace and security in the entire region. [end recording]

After the casual ceremony, Mr. Demirel met and greeted other Albanian top personalities who came out to welcome him—Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi, People's Assembly Deputy Chairmen Tomor Malasi and Shaqir Vukaj, Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi, and Ministers Musaraj, Zhulali, Xhaja, and Brojka.

Demirel's two-day itinerary is very full, beginning with talks at the presidency between the two delegations presided by Berisha and Demirel and followed by other meetings and visits until noon tomorrow, when the Turkish president and those accompanying him are to depart.

This afternoon Berisha received the Turkish state chairman and the delegation accompanying him at the presidency seat. The foreign ministers of both countries, Serreqi and Inonu, attended the reception. After this one-hour meeting, Berisha and Demirel held a tete-a-tete talk. Official talks then started between the two delegations presided by both presidents. For the Albanian side, Deputy Prime Minister Dylber Vrioni and Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi were present.

The content of the presidency talks has not yet been made known to correspondents.

Berisha, Polish Official Want Greater Cooperation

AU1207152195 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 11 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the president's press and information office, President Sali Berisha today received Polish Senate Chairman Adam Struzik.

After expressing his pleasure with the progress of cooperation between our two countries, President Berisha stressed that Poland and Albania, as two friendly and democratic countries, should expand cooperation and reciprocal aid in all fields, such as political, economic, cultural, and defense, as well as with international institutions.

Mr. Struzik pointed out the special interest with which Poland is following the democratic transformations in Albania. A much better future lies in store for Albania because freedom has set the people's energy free. We observed this during our short stay here, Mr. Struzik said.

The talks then focused on the course of reform in our two countries, its outcome, the regional crisis, and the Kosova problem.

Joint Military Training With U.S. Forces

LD1207205295 Tirana Radio Tirana in English 1600 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The American-Albanian military training, the Crystal Water, the biggest in eastern Europe, started recently. It will last until September.

According to the Albanian Defense Minister Safet Zhulali, this training is a concrete expression of the splendid level of the cooperation and relations between Albania and the United States of America in the military field.

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This training consists in combined processes, with the final target the rehabilitation of the general hospital of the army and the qualification of the Albanian personnel.

The Albanian Defense Minister Safet Zhulali expressed his gratitude to the American Defense Secretary William Perry, who was considered by him as a friend of Albania, and also the commander in chief of the allied forces in Europe, the General Joulwan. He invited the United States and the other NATO countries for a closer cooperation with Albania by developing other trainings like the Crystal Water.

More than 100 American troops of South Carolina Guards and marine forces of the United States of America will participate in the joint military training. They will be transferred on rotation basis.

Tnis maneuver will cost $1.5 million. All the expenses will be covered by the American side. The Crystal Water training is the third in a row of the Albanian-American maneuvers organized recently. According to the sources from the American Embassy in Tirana and the Albanian Defense Ministry, this maneuver will give place to the others in the coming year. The [words indistinct] will start within this month.

U.S. Assistance Questioned

AU1207152495 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 12 Jul 95 p 2

[Report by Anri Boga: "U.S. Soldiers Look for Water in Tirana"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday morning, after a greeting from Albanian Defense Minister Safet Zhulali and in the presence of Deputy Prime Minister Vrioni, Health Minister Cikuli, and Interior Minister Musaraj, a group of U.S. soldiers began to look for drinking water in the grounds of the Military Hospital in Tirana. This U.S.-Albanian cooperation, the first of its kind, is called "Crystal Water 95." The goal of the project is to supply adequate drinking water to the hospital, which has suffered from shortages, within two weeks.

After a speech by Minister Zhulali and formal greetings, the group of U.S. soldiers were immediately sent to the Military Hospital. This hospital, built by the Russians and dating back to the days of good Russian-Albanian relations, seems to have acquired a second lease of life under U.S.-Albanian auspices. The Americans, besides discovering water and carrying it to the hospital, have also undertaken to generally refurbish the building of certain special wards.

According to an order from the hospital's director and apparently from Minister Zhulali himself, one is forbidden to talk to the soldiers. It is impossible to understand the reasons for this decision, especially when one knows the reason for their presence and for the soundings they are making.

"They have not spoken a word to us," said one of the drilling workers of the Albanian Defense Ministry, "and, according to our charts, there is no water in this area. Nevertheless, perhaps the Americans will find water where other people cannot find a single drop," he concluded.

According to another Albanian officer, the Americans have received the necessary permission from the ministry and have been allowed to conduct this operation. "They say they will find water within two weeks," he said. "Let us see if they have any success."

Alia's 'Possible Reintegration Into Politics'

AU1207162295 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 11 Jul 95

[Report by Rezear Xhaxhiu]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] I will remain a politician as I know no other profession, Ramiz Alia declared on Friday morning, just after being released from Tirana prison. In the past few days, such an expression seemed to have aroused reactions, hypotheses, suppositions, comments, and various dissociations. Will Alia really return to politics? What force will invite him to its bosom? Will he create a party of his own or reorganize an existing one? [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] This is their job, but the followers of Alia and their close aides are currently leading the Socialist Party [PS]. That is why this is a political maneuver by them and not at all something that constitutes the essence and reality of the PS leadership. [end recording]

This is the reaction of PD Secretary General Tritan Shehu, who calls the positioning of [PS Deputy Chairman] Servet Pellumbi a political maneuver. Shehu comments on Alia's statement as a piece of nostalgia. For the PD secretary general, this is mostly an attempt to group left-wing extreme forces that seek to revive the phantoms of communism.

[Begin Shehu recording] It is the left-wing extreme that is being grouped around the PS leadership, precisely to hinder democratic developments in Albania. [end recording]

Other leaders of Albanian political forces express similar views. Every politician seems to be careful in his comments on Alia's statements. The problem may not be that simple.

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Questions ranging over Alia's political future also reveal no preliminary forecast. Considered to be one of the most discredited figures in Albanian politics, the arrows of the attacks by all the new political parties created in Albania since 1991 fell on the former communist president.

Meanwhile, in this hot summer of 1995, Alia, who has just been released from prison, throws out the first statement, which in other words means his possible reintegration into politics. But in what politics? Commentators are of the opinion that it is difficult for the Alia of 1995 to find a secure and cozy place in the Albanian political spectrum. Alia, the 69-year old former secretary of the Party of Labor of Albania, although physically vital, would find it difficult to become trusted in a climate that has long been to his disadvantage.

The signals coming from the leading Socialist personnel seem to tell him not to approach its headquarters. It may be possible that the he may find a more-or-less peripheral place in Albanian politics, even after attempting to follow the Gorbachev phenomenon. In the long run, Ramiz Alia remains quite far away from the Gorbachev of 1990, not to say the Gorbachev of 1995, whom he wants to emulate.

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Iran's Habibi Ends Visit; 4 Agreements Signed

AU1207190095 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Dr. Hasan Habibi, first vice president of the Republic of Iran, has ended his visit to Bulgaria. During his visit, four documents were signed: an intergovernmental agreement removing visa requirements for holders of official passports and three memoranda on cooperation in the fields of industry, agriculture, and transportation.

Ilinden OMO Attempting To Be Legalized

AU1307105795 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 9 Jul 95 p 7

[Article by Antoaneta Maskruchka: "Ilinden OMO Trying To Coax Authorities To Legalize It"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The separatist Ilinden United Macedonian Organization [OMO] is on the way to being legalized. This would happen if the court decides to register it as a Bulgarian-Macedonian friendship society under the Bill on Individuals and the Family.

The organization's documents have already been submitted to the court. Employees of the security services who have been following OMO's anti-Bulgarian actions for years claim that Macedonians are behind the application to the court.

Naturally, the organization's charter and program have been purged of everything that contradicts our laws.

The initiators have learned from the mistake of Georgi Solunski, leader of the independent Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Union of Macedonian Societies. At that time Chief Prosecutor Tatarchev intervened and succeeded in canceling the legality of the Macedonians, which lasted only a few months.

The Macedonians are skillfully changing their skins by establishing various formations with strange names. They are hoping that one of those formations will be able to conceal its true identity and gain registration.

The methods and the meetings of the leaders of the separate OMO phalanxes are becoming ever more conspiratorial.

At the same time their rare public appearances are becoming ever more insolent and categorical. A week ago they denied the existence of a Bulgarian ethnic group, and later developed the thesis that whoever claims that he is a Bulgarian is actually admitting that he is a Turk, in addition to other historical nonsense of the same kind.

In the last few years it has became clear that the trick will not work if the Macedonian organizations continue to bombard the court with claims for ceding Bulgarian territory, separating the Bulgarian Church, and withdrawing the Bulgarian Army from Pirin Macedonia.

Lately the Macedonians have succeeded in recruiting intellectual elements, whose advice is to act in a way that will create the least resistance. This should begin with educational activity on a cultural basis between Bulgaria and the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]. Naturally, there is nothing bad in this, provided it is not a pretext for expanding and pursuing other, secret goals.

Since the Ilinden OMO was officially established—some five years ago—about one-third of the counterintelligence in the Pirin region is engaged in the "Macedonian issue." OMO's intentions to destabilize public life in the region have been successfully neutralized dozens of times.

If OMO is now legalized, the entire work of the special services will be rendered meaningless. In addition, our western neighbors could interpret this as a policy of weakness, and it would give them an additional trump card.

The fact that Bulgaria recognized the territory and independence of the young Republic of Macedonia is a sufficient gesture of the outstretched hand, and it should serve as a basis for developing our goodneighborly relations.

Our citizens who travel to Macedonia are forced to bitterly swallow the biased and vulgar attitude of the Macedonian authorities toward them, despite the fact that, for Macedonia, Bulgaria is the only open door. They swallow everything for the sake of preserving the positive spirit in bilateral relations.

Apparently, those at the Ministry of Internal Affairs are not in agreement about whether there should be a legal Macedonian organization in Bulgaria.

Recently, a responsible employee of the Interior Ministry system delicately explained that there is nothing negative about establishing an official organization for the 10,000 citizens who describe themselves as Macedonians. This statement creates the impression that certain circles in our state administration are seriously considering this variant.

The first indication occurred at Rozhen Monastery in April, when OMO members dissociated themselves from the official celebration of the anniversary of Yane Sandanski's death and held a separate ceremony.

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On 4 May in front of the Gotse Delchev monument in Blagoevgrad the separatists again ironically observed the military ceremony from the sidelines and afterward paraded through the city with wreaths decorated with "Ilinden" OMO ribbons.

Something like this could not happen in Greece. The Aegean part of the geographic entity called Macedonia is included in the territory of our southern neighbor. In Greece there are registered parties behind which unofficially there are the Macedonians. They participated in the municipal elections and had hardly any success. The problems they create for the Greek authorities are minor—one must not forget Ellas's proverbial iron discipline in anything related to the ethnic issue.

Unfortunately, in this respect Bulgaria lags far, far behind....

Videnov Declares 'Respect' for Parliament

AU1207200795 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Zhan Videnov has made an address for Bulgarian National Television and Radio. The address will be transmitted later in the "Something More" Program of the Khorizont Network of Bulgarian National Radio, but here is Bilyana Mikhaylova to inform us of its main contents:

[Begin recording] The date 12 July 1991 has entered Bulgarian history and immortalized the worthy fulfillment of their mission by the members of the Seventh Grand National Assembly, who adopted the new Constitution, Prime Minister Zhan Videnov said at the start of his speech. He stressed that for the first time our basic law is an act of a sovereign Bulgaria that fulfilled the testament of Vasil Levski that [words indistinct] the republic and imbued our country with the great principles of modern democracy.

I am sure that the 37th National Assembly will be remembered for passing all the laws envisaged by the Constitution, the prime minister declared later, and pointed out that on Constitution Day we are bound to declare our respect toward its creator: parliament.

Even when we criticize the Constitution, Zhan Videnov said toward the end of his speech, we must follow our sense of constitutionalism, regarding it as the foundation on which we will build a democratic and law-governed society. [end recording]

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Hungarian Politicians Ask U.S. To Monitor Treaty

LD1307100595 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0900 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Leaders of the Hungarian parties of Slovakia are concerned about Slovakia's international isolation.

During their talks in Washington, they said that, as a result of the Bratislava government's measures, the country could become isolated in the international world, and this is not in the interest of either the Slovaks or the Hungarians living in Slovakia. At the meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the American Senate, Miklos Duray, Bela Bugar, and Laszlo Nagy asked the U.S. politicians to urge the ratification of the Slovak-Hungarian bilateral treaty in Bratislava and to monitor the fulfillment of what the document contains.

Meciar Stresses Commitment to European Integration

AU1207200095 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 10 Jul 95 pp 1, 4

[TASR report: "Slovakia as Part of Unifying Europe"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—On the occasion of the submission of the Slovak Republic's application for EU membership, Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar gave a banquet for the heads of EU member states' diplomatic missions in the Mirror Hall of the Slovak Government Office on 8 June. It was attended by Deputy Prime Ministers Sergej Kozlik, Katarina Tothova, and Jozef Kalman, Ministers Juraj Schenk and Ivan Hudec, and others.

In his address to the assembled guests, the prime minister stated that the meeting was being held in the shadow of two historic events. The first was the coming of SS. Cyril and Methodius to Slovakia more than 1,100 years ago. [passage omitted]

The second significant historic event was the submission of the Slovak Republic's application for EU membership. "This application affirms our allegiance to a unifying Europe and European integration, and it entails demands for the internal arrangement of the state," he said. He stressed that Slovakia, being part of a unifying Europe, wished to have its own share in it but, at the same time, to bear responsibility. He drew attention to the great transformational and systemic changes in Central and East Europe, aimed at a democratic arrangement. They affected all aspects of state life and were so radical that each state was coping with them only with difficulty. "We are, moreover, a young state," Vladimir Meciar observed. The transformation of Slovakia was continuing, he said, but it also had its faults. Despite these faults, however, the transformation process was leading to positive changes. For example, inflation in Slovakia the previous month had been zero. At a time when all the Central and East European countries were seeking a positive example of solving the problems of transformation, the Slovak Republic could become this positive example and fulfill its mission in Central and East Europe. By submitting its application for EU membership, Slovakia had joined the big family of integrating states and nations. It hoped to gain from the integration process a major impetus for its own development. The prime minister conveyed, through the representatives of diplomatic missions, thanks to their governments and the political representatives of their states for showing sympathy for the Slovak Republic ever since it became independent, for recognizing Slovakia, and for being ready to cooperate with it. "I thank you, as the messengers of your states, for the mediating role you are playing on our territory," the Slovak prime minister stressed.

Schenk Views EU, NATO Expansion, Relations

AU1207175295 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Jul 95 pp 1, 12

[Interview with Slovak Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk by Julius Lorincz and Leopold Moravcik; place and date not given: "Slovakia Is Not a Threat to Anyone and Does Not Feel Threatened by Anyone"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [PRAVDA] The EU summit in Cannes underscored Brussels' willingness to integrate the countries of Central and East Europe, including Slovakia, but the final decision will obviously only be made at next year's intergovernmental conference. What kind of assurance do we have that the European Union really envisages us as a member within the year 2000 time frame?

[Schenk] I would not like to cast myself in the role of a sibyl and utter certain black or rosy prophesies. It is necessary to proceed from the fact that this issue is still far from being decided definitively. We are all well aware that the European Union itself is facing the very difficult and complex problem of its internal modification. The EU will have to confront many problems, and this process will be very, very complicated because it is already apparent today that, to put it figuratively, the European Union has reached its limits. It can no longer function like this, and it will have to go through a very substantial internal qualitative modification.

The decision on expanding the EU is immediately associated with these issues because the EU's expansion will multiply these problems. I am convinced, however,

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that the EU will have to expand. The question is when, within what time frame, under what conditions, and into what kind of new EU other countries will then be able to enter.

It is generally envisaged that the negotiations on entry into the EU could begin about six months after the summit planned for next year. This conference, however, will probably not come to an end in 1996. Nevertheless, this does not have to alarm us in any way—for two reasons. First, the political will regarding the EU's expansion to include the countries of Central and East Europe has already been declared very unequivocally. Second, we also realize that if we want to enter into the EU as an equal partner, we still have a great many complicated tasks ahead of us in the socioeconomic and legal spheres. So, the time that we have fixed as the optimum one for entry—that is, in about the year 2000—provides us with a minimum time frame that we must utilize very effectively.

Of course, in this matter, it is necessary to be very realistic, and it is also necessary, to say the least, to be aware of the theoretical possibility that the EU, without having a negative attitude toward the candidates for membership, could postpone the appropriate decision until later. Then, it would be necessary to formulate strategies that may consist of an attempt at transitional integrative regional groupings.

[PRAVDA] We would like to pause at these regional groupings because the EU, within the framework of its internal market, is trying to intensify cooperation within Euroregions. In our country, if we recall the case of the so-called Carpathian Euroregion, it was as if we were concerned that this form might endanger Slovakia's integrity and sovereignty.

[Schenk] When I talk about regional groupings, I do not mean Euroregions. Euroregions are only one of the options. I personally feel that they are not the most effective option. I have in mind higher groupings at the level of units, at the level of states. There is the Visegrad Four, there is CEFTA [Central European Free Trade Association]... I see no obstacle, for instance, to Slovenia—which is absolutely equal in many parameters—entering into such regional cooperation as an equal partner. There are also no reasons not to expand it to include countries to the south or in a direction toward the Baltic Sea. The process of Europe's integration and unification should not be viewed unidimensionally; this means only as the relationship between the EU and the candidates for membership in it. That is, we feel that entry into the EU should not create some kind of new dividing line between those who get there and those who do not and between those who get there first and those who get there a little later.

[PRAVDA] To return to the issue of Euroregions, does it follow on from this perhaps that the Carpathian Euroregion has, in essence, no future?

[Schenk] I did not say that. The issue of Euroregions in general is slightly different. Euroregions, as they have evolved in West Europe, have a completely different tradition. It took years for them to acquire an institutionalized form. Here—and this is my personal view—we attempted to skip a stage. It came up against many problems immediately because a legal analysis of the Carpathian Euroregion revealed that its entire course of action was not in harmony with the laws. Furthermore, our Republic's internal territorial division has not been revised, and the rules for trade and other exchange at this lower level have not been adjusted. Or, first, it is necessary to create a legal legislative system, and then something can be established. Of course, the question then is: To what extent do political or other interests also encroach upon such projects? There are enough indications that, in connection with the Carpathian Euroregion, such factors are also being taken into consideration.

[PRAVDA] You have mentioned that not all of the states applying for admission into the Union are likely to become members at once. It is also the same with the North Atlantic Pact. Sometimes, however, this is juxtaposed with the security interests of Russia and Ukraine. Slovakia has traditional ties to these countries and is interested in developing them. How do you view this issue?

[Schenk] Naturally, this is a more complex issue. We proceed from the premise that it is absolutely essential to create a new Pan-European security system for the 21st century. And, no one—even Russia—can be left out of it. The question, of course, is how to create this system so that it is effective. We have proceeded from a single elementary fact—namely, that NATO is the only extant effectively functioning security structure and that this structure alone, along with the other European and transatlantic structures, can give us effective security guarantees.

As far as security is concerned, it is necessary to realize that there are a number of threats here that today, fortunately, are of a purely theoretical nature. They could, however, evolve into acute threats. But these threats are not only defined by the fact that Russia alone or possible dangerous development in Russia loom large in them. Of course, there are more of these threats. There is a risk of the conflicts spilling over from the former Yugoslavia, and there is international terrorism

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and all that this entails. I can only repeat what we have discussed on many occasions with our Russian partners. They have confirmed that they have no right of veto, but they are concerned that the internal nondemocratic forces in Russia may be strengthened by the very rapid process of NATO's enlargement. This is something that has to be borne in mind and this is what all of the world's powers are doing.

It is stated clearly in our foreign policy strategy that Slovakia is not a threat to anyone and that it does not feel threatened by anyone. When we say "by anyone," of course, we also mean by the current situation in Russia.

[PRAVDA] It is possible to form two basic conclusions from the statements made by U.S. officials. They are not interested in creating a new dividing line in Europe, and, moreover, they are not interested in resuming confrontation with Russia. To what extent may these very U.S. attitudes influence the further process of the Alliance's enlargement?

[Schenk] The attitudes of the U.S. side will be decisive in formulating NATO's overall strategy. The U.S. side has not only declared this but has also confirmed it by entering into talks, even though the talks are not simple and will not be easy. U.S. officials emphasize on all occasions that NATO will be enlarged. It is more or less a public secret that a group of candidates has been formed and that the strategy for implementing this process is also already at the halfway stage. We should have the results of this strategic study at our disposal by the end of the year. The fact that the Americans are also weighing up in great detail the other aspects immediately associated with their state interests is, however, another question. And, these interests do not always have to coincide with the interests of European countries.

During our discussions, in connection with NATO's enlargement to include Slovakia, the U.S. side asked us how it is supposed to convince the American boys, in the event of an emergency, to be prepared to die, let us say, for Dolny Smokovec or Rimavska Sobota. We replied that we will also have to convince Slovak boys, in the event of an emergency, to be prepared to die for Tennessee, Massachusetts, or Illinois. The problem, however, lies elsewhere—the Alliance's enlargement should lead to a situation that precludes military conflict.

[PRAVDA] Differing points of view on some issues are apparent within the governing coalition. The stance of the Slovak National Party and its attitude toward the wartime Slovak state are well known, but its negative position on the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty is now at the forefront. Does this not create major problems for Slovak diplomacy?

[Schenk] It is normal in a pluralist democracy that individual parties formulate their own specific points of view on certain partial issues or on certain serious issues. It is equally natural that all issues are discussed and, at the same time, that contradictory opinions are sometimes expressed. There is, however, a difference between a discussion at the level of parliamentary and coalition parties and the government's position. I would like to emphasize that there are no such differences at the government level and that, to this effect, the government is adhering fully to its policy statement.

As far as the points of view of the governing coalition's parties are concerned, I consider the point of view on the Slovak-Hungarian treaty to be genuinely important. This is a fundamental issue that this society is really cognizant of. The debate on the treaty has not actually begun yet in our country. It will begin when the ratification process starts. We know that the debate in Hungary was much more rigorous—it was also accompanied by demonstrations.

[PRAVDA] The National Council of the Slovak Republic has r[illegible]d the Framework Agreement on the Protection o[illegible]nic Minorities. Part of the opposition considers the draft principles for the law on the state language and the concept for alternative education to be a departure from the former standard. Will this not influence our relations with Hungary?

[Schenk] This typical—for a democracy—argument between the coalition and the opposition or between the government and the opposition has its own basic rules. They state why the opposition is the opposition and why the government defends certain points of view. Of course, the question is in what kind of situation this is taking place, whether it has a rational and constructive core. I do not want to respond now to a specific situation; that is immaterial. Incidentally, I think that the Slovak-Hungarian treaty will show that, in this matter, there will not be a clear dividing line between the coalition and the opposition. I am firmly convinced that the need to resolve this issue will not sustain this dividing line but that the idea of a rational solution will indeed prevail here.

The issue of alternative education is, shall we say, something else. If we return to the documents that we adopted and that the Council of Europe adopted, then alternative education is enshrined in the Framework Agreement. Therefore, I see no reason to interpret alternative education as a narrowing down of the options or as a contradiction of these options. I believe that the manifestation of evolution—that is, progress—is always the diversification of possibilities, and this definitely is a diversification of possibilities.

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[PRAVDA] It seems that Slovak-Czech relations have become a little more dramatic recently. Problems have arisen in connection with the payments agreement, the credit margin, and the customs union. Where do these misunderstandings stem from?

[Schenk] I do not perceive this matter as being very dramatic but as part of a broader process associated with the fact that the former federation broke up. In the next phase, it is quite inevitable that the trajectories of the two independent states will move a little further apart. It is essential, therefore, that each of these newly established states bolsters its own identity.

No catastrophic prognosis has been fulfilled. Slovakia has exhibited vital potential and has shown that it is capable of forging its own path and even of developing it. All of the issues that you have referred to are a natural consequence of the fact that we have reached the stage where we have to seek qualitatively new mutual relations. Now, the question is where and on which side the desire will be found to resolve these relations rationally. It is well known that discussions on various levels have been taking place virtually since the formation of the current government and that, as of 6 January, the preparations began for a meeting between the two prime ministers, a meeting that has been postponed constantly by the Czech side. The Czech side found itself in a disadvantageous position as a consequence of its complicated internal situation, in connection with development in the clearing account, and as a result of the fact that the elections are drawing near. On their side—and, to me, this is psychologically understandable—it is not so simple to take specific steps, steps that cannot be avoided, however, if further steps are to be taken. We are still prepared to discuss all of the issues; we are opposed to the adoption of unilateral solutions, and, similarly, we are willing and ready to discuss all of the other open issues.

[PRAVDA] In our relations with Germany, it is as if we are witnessing interesting development: We have very good contacts with the individual laender, but, on the other hand, it is as if our relations with the federal government are lagging behind....

[Schenk] I would modify this assessment a little. Admittedly, an optical impression of slightly unbalanced contacts may be given, but I think it is not altogether like this. I have made an official visit to Bonn. I met my counterpart, Mr. Kinkel, and the defense ministers also met each other. There are more of these contacts. The fact is, preparations have been under way for some time for a meeting between the prime ministers; it has not taken place yet. On the other hand, we are not receiving any signals from the German side that would cast doubt on its support for Slovakia in its integration into Europe or on other fundamental issues.

[PRAVDA] There was also talk at a news conference here recently about the possibility of compensation for the victims of World War II.

[Schenk] The Slovak side is asking that the compensation be equal to the compensation for the Czech victims. The Germans cannot adopt one approach toward the Czech lands here and a different one toward Slovakia. Proportionality should be maintained. At the moment, I personally view the implementation of this idea rather skeptically. Quite realistically, I do not see that the German side would offer more substantial compensation—whether to the Czech or Slovak victims and antifascists.

[PRAVDA] What is the primary task in devising Slovak diplomacy to ensure that it is effective?

[Schenk] We still have many problems. This is a matter for qualified and experienced people; there are never enough of these. We do have a number of qualified bright young people, but they need to gain experience. It is also necessary to resolve fully the issue of preparing new experts.

Another thing we lack—which is also associated with time—is tradition. I mean the unwritten norms that always shape a department's activity significantly. A third thing is analytical expertise. We really lack this. In many countries, they have good analytical expertise because this work is carried out very often by experienced ambassadors who come home after a long-term posting and can make use of all of their experience. From analysis, it is one step to concepts and strategies, which simply cannot be formulated without it. As I have already said, resolving these and other issues takes some time; it has to be systematic. It is also very important to ensure that the basic concepts for foreign policy do not change—fortunately, this has not happened as of 1 January 1993. Every department can function better if it has an opportunity to proceed—for at least one term—on its plotted course without internal tensions.

Chief of Staff Briefs WEU on Army Developments

AU1207150695 Bratislava SME in Slovak 8 Jul 95 p 2

[Article by "rk": "The Slovak Army Needs Sk55 Billion for Reequipment"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—On the second day of talks, the representatives of the Political Committee of the Western European Union [WEU] Assembly met with Slovak Army officials and J. Binder, director of Water-Management Construction. The Slovak Army

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delegation was headed by Colonel General Tuchyna, Army chief of staff, substituting for the absent Defense Minister Sitek. Answering the questions raised by the Political Committee members, Tuchyna emphasized the orientation of the Slovak Republic toward integration into the West European structures and the active work of the Slovak Republic in the Partnership for Peace program. He elaborated on restructuring the Slovak Army to the brigade system, which should be completed by 15 September 1995, and the strength of the Slovak Army will correspond to the Vienna Convention (the strength of 46,000 men should continue, however, to be reduced even after this date). Another important task for the Slovak Army is its modernization, which must, however, be based on the economic possibilities of Slovakia. As Tuchyna said, the Slovak Army needs approximately 13.2 billion Slovak korunas [Sk] just for the really necessary modernization before 2000, and approximately Sk55 billion is needed for the overall arms reequipment. For this reason, according to Tuchyna, no change of the Russian technical basis can be expected in the near future. Nevertheless, as he added, even his personal talks with NATO representatives indicate that the arms reequipment is not as important as new communication systems.

[Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak on 11 July on page 2 adds: "A Rapid Deployment Unit will be established in the Slovak Army this October. The members of this unit are to be professionals, and it will be equipped with the OT-90 armored carriers. The unit will consist of 600 men. Col. Gen. Tuchyna, Army chief of staff, reported this in Trencin yesterday, at a meeting with the military and air force attaches of 16 countries accredited to the Slovak Republic. The Rapid Deployment Unit will have its training facility in Martin, and it is expected to be completely combat ready in the second half of the year."]

Poll Surveys Attitude Toward Foreign Policy

AU1207155995 Bratislava SME in Slovak 11 Jul 95 p 2

[Unattributed report: "What Is the Slovak Republic's Foreign Policy Like?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the results of a representative public opinion poll conducted by the FOCUS agency in the first half of June, only 10.8 percent of the adult population is of the opinion that the Slovak Government's foreign policy is correct. The FOCUS agency put to respondents the question "How do you personally assess the foreign policy of the Slovak Government?" also in May 1994. At that time, 26.1 percent of respondents considered the Slovak Government's foreign policy correct.

What is the Slovak Republic's foreign policy like?

	V. Meciar's Government (Jun 95)	J. Moravcik's Government (May 94)
	Percent	
Correct	10.8	26.1
On some points correct, on some not	49.2	51.3
Incorrect	22.0	10.7
Do not know	18.0	11.9

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 11 July on page 1 carries a 100-word TASR report on the above FOCUS poll, which adds: "Vladimir Meciar's foreign policy was assessed as correct by 22.8 percent of Movement for a Democratic Slovakia supporters, 25.0 percent of Slovak National Party supporters, and 26.1 percent of the Association of Workers of Slovakia supporters, but by only 1.7 percent Party of the Democratic Left supporters, 6.5 percent Democratic Union supporters, 4.5 percent Christian Democratic Movement supporters, and 2.7 percent Hungarian Coalition supporters."]

New State-Controlled Bank Awarded License

AU1207160095

[FBIS Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA and Bratislava SME in Slovak on 11 July publish commentaries querying the aims of Banka Slovakia (Bank Slovakia), a new state-controlled bank, the establishment of which was approved by the National Bank of Slovakia (NBS) Banking Council on 7 July. The PRAVDA commentator suspects that the new bank's mission will be to "consummate privatization in the spirit of the election winners."

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Bratislava SME in Slovak on 8 July on page 2 carries a 300-word report by "b" on a meeting of the NBS Banking Council, which states, among other things: "At its meeting yesterday, the NBS Banking Council positively assessed the request of the Carpatia Consulta shareholding company for the issuance of a permit to operate as a bank. The bank will bear the name Banka Slovakia. As we were informed by NBS spokesman Jan Onda, now that the authorization to operate as a bank has been granted, the city of Banska Bystrica is expected to participate in the project with its capital."

Bratislava SME in Slovak on 10 July on page 2 carries a 600-word report by "b" entitled "Banka Slovakia Will Be Controlled by the State." The report, which deals with the proprietary structure of the new bank, emphasizes the fact that it will be "state controlled." According to SME, the Carpatia Consulta company, the "founder" of Banka Slovakia, currently has three shareholders: the National Property Fund (FNM) of the Slovak Republic, which owns 454.67 million korunas (Sk) worth of Carpatia Consulta's Sk704.67 million worth of shares; Slovenska Sporitelna (Slovak Savings Bank), which owns Sk200 million worth of shares; and Slovenska Pojistovna (Slovak Insurance Company), which owns the remaining Sk50 million worth of shares. The SME correspondent points out that the "controlling stake" in both Slovenska Sporitelna and Slovenska Pojistovna is owned by the FNM. According to SME, the city of Banska Bystrica is expected to become the fourth shareholder. Its stake, worth Sk77 million, will consist of a city-owned building on Slovak National Uprising Square in Banska Bystrica, which will serve as Banka Slovakia's head office.

Bratislava SME in Slovak on 11 July on page 4 carries a 500-word commentary by Vladimir Bacisin entitled "Bank-Mania's Resurrection." The commentator recalls that the idea to set up in Banska Bystrica "Slovakia's second-largest bank" is two years old but that the project originally ran up against the NBS's resistance: "In April 1994, the NBS Banking Council turned down Banka Slovakia's application for a license because, according to an IMF and World Bank recommendation, private capital should have a share of at least 51 percent in Slovak banks." In the commentator's opinion, the state's dominant role in Banka Slovakia probably also made the French Paribas bank reconsider its plans to become involved in the project. Bacisin believes that Slovakia's problem is not an insufficient number of banks but the banks' weak capital base and their political dependence. He therefore fears that Banka Slovakia will only "siphon off resources from other banks" and "will become another bank that is controlled by the state. And, in Slovakia, the state is identical with one movement."

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 11 July on page 4 carries a 300-word commentary by Ivan Podstupka entitled "Banka Slovakia—Second Time Around." Like the SME commentator, Podstupka observes that the NBS Banking Council, composed of nearly the same members as now, turned down the Banka Slovakia project in April 1994 and that reservations had been put forward also by the World Bank, which objected to the FNM's being the dominant shareholder.

Podstupka goes on to day: "Let us ask what purpose this bank will serve. We need not go far for an answer. This 'second banking center' will pursue its own policy, which can differ from the intentions of existing financial centers.... The FNM has subscribed to almost Sk0.5 billion worth of shares in the new bank, as though it did not know what to do with its money. At the same time, the FNM is insolvent, and, in a rational society, establishing new banks should be its last worry. We will not be far from the truth when we say that the mission of Banka Slovakia is to consummate [zavrsit] privatization and to do so in the spirit of the election winners. One can accomplish miracles by means of credits, especially if primary resources are fairly collected and unfairly deposited with politically allied banks."

Commentary on Scope for Corruption in Privatization

AU1207170795 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Jul 95 p 4

[Commentary by Marian Lesko: "What Is Important Is Not Who but How"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In November 1994, we registered in the Slovak parliament a phenomenon that has not recurred since then: The parliamentary majority deprived the government of a major power and transferred it to a nonstate agency. Parliament withdrew from the government the right to approve direct privatization sales and gave this right to the National Property Fund [FNM] presidium. The same government that, by means of its parliamentary majority, approved for itself new powers in education and in appointing the director of the Slovak Information Service and the chief of the General Staff, enabled a few individuals in the FNM presidium to decide who will own 200 billion korunas [Sk] worth of property. If we want to examine why it did so, we must first take into consideration that the individuals in the FNM presidium are by no means coincidental but that they have been very carefully selected and elected by the parliamentary majority of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, the Association of Workers of Slovakia, and the Slovak National Party. But this is far from everything.

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Shortly before its fall, Meciar's second government [June 1992-April 1994] privatized companies in such a way that the newspapers were full of articles on "wild" or "nocturnal" privatization. It left behind at the Government Office cabinet meeting tapes that contain remarkable formulations. On one of these tapes, Ivan Lexa, the then state secretary responsible for running the Privatization Ministry, recommends the approval of one privatization project because the buyer "is close to us and all that." Government decisions were subject to review by the Supreme Inspection Office [NKU] and under the public's watchful eye. None of these dangers exists now. The FNM presidium makes decisions without having to fear the NKU's inquiries because it is not a state agency. It need not fear parliamentary control, either, because government coalition deputies have a comfortable majority on the relevant parliamentary committee. And there is also no need to fear public opinion because, since November 1994 [when it was installed], the FNM leadership has not met with the press even once. Marian Lacko, chairman of the trade union of civilian Army employees, therefore pointedly observed: "In this situation, all of us are actually out of the game. At the same time, a sizable chunk of property is being distributed." One should add that this "sizable chunk of property" is also being distributed fairly quickly: Since 1992, property worth Sk40 billion has been sold in privatization, but, in the first three months of this year, the new FNM presidium managed to sell property worth Sk15 billion....

The same government that has adopted the "clean hands" anticorruption program has at the same time made it possible for bigger scope to be created for corruption within the framework of privatization than anyone can imagine. Engineer Peter Florek, chairman of the trade union organization in the SEZ company at Dolny Kubin, told a NARODNA OBRODA correspondent what he had experienced when a shareholding company set up by SEZ employees sought to privatize the factory: "Some people came to see us and said that they would help us, so that the factory would be knocked down to us by the guys at the top. What do you want for your help? I asked. Well, you give us a couple of percent, inasmuch as we are going to privatize along with you, they said. The only snag was that they wanted a bigger percentage than our 600 employees would get." This is just one example—and there are 676 companies earmarked for privatization....

The government-sponsored amendment to the law on large-scale privatization, which the government is to discuss at its meeting that opens tomorrow, cedes additional powers to the FNM, strengthening the position of the FNM presidium as the uncontrollable privatizer of property worth almost Sk200 billion. It is obvious that the government and the government majority control the decisionmaking process politically because they can dismiss the FNM presidium at any time. In other words, this "independent agency" can decide only as the government itself would decide. The only difference is that the government could not do so without outside control, whereas the FNM presidium can. This was the main reason the government give up its powers for the benefit of the FNM. After all, the FNM presidium will always manage somehow to ascertain in whose favor it should decide.

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Kovacs on Efforts for Treaty With Romania

LD1207211295 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 12 Jul 95

[Passages within quotation recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] The signing of the Hungarian-Romanian basic treaty has been hampered by misinterpretations, Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs told Newsreel. The Hungarian foreign minister will travel to Bucharest next week in an attempt to remove from deadlock the talks on the basic treaty.

[Correspondent] Laszlo Kovacs said that the dispute, which he believes to be unnecessary, is over a phrase. The foreign minister is of the view that the so-called territorial autonomy based on ethnic origin phrase is not part of the Council of Europe document which Hungary would like to include in the basic treaty.

[Kovacs] "There has been a kind of fear of this document, which I find totally unjustified. If we manage to find a way to eliminate this fear, I think we can agree upon the other three issues."

[Correspondent] According to Laszlo Kovacs, Hungarian-Romanian ties do not only depend on the signing of the basic treaty. Should there be no progress this time either, it will be the Romanian diplomacy's fault first and foremost.

[Kovacs] "In that case, it will have to be made clear that the basic treaty has not failed for good, only that the conditions have been missing, and namely on the Romanian side."

[Correspondent] According to the chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, who is currently staying in Hungary, it is now Romania's turn to improve Romanian-Hungarian relations.

[Marko] "The Romanian side has the opportunity to progress and act in fundamental issues that determine the two countries' relationship, such as the settlement of the situation of Hungarians in Romania."

Kovacs Previews 19 Jul Talks

AU1207185995 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 12 Jul 95 pp 1, 9

[Interview with Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs by Andrej Kiss; place and date not given: "Budapest Cannot Yield on Certain Points"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the view of many, the negotiations on the Hungarian-Romanian basic treaty are entering a decisive period with Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs's talks to be held in Bucharest on 19 July. We asked Kovacs what the chances are of the foreign ministers' meeting putting some momentum into bilateral relations.

[Kovacs] Naturally, I am going to Bucharest intending to reach agreement with Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu on the open issues of the Hungarian-Romanian basic treaty. I am convinced that it will be in both sides' interest if we manage to complete a treaty according to European norms in a way that does not give grounds for any misunderstandings or misinterpretations.

This applies to the two sides not having any territorial demands on each other, recognizing the inviolability of the border between them, and, on the other hand, according to European norms and international and European documents, ensuring the rights of Hungarians in Romania and Romanians in Hungary: Their ability to preserve their identity.

At the same time, this visit does not mean "now or never," that if we cannot agree on these open issues now, then we will have to abandon the idea of the basic treaty once and for all.

I would like to add that the basic treaty is very important but it is not the sole element of Hungarian-Romanian relations. While we have not made further progress in talks on the basic treaty in recent months, we have made progress on several other concrete areas of cooperation.

[Kiss] Nevertheless, the basic treaty is considered to be a key issue in bilateral relations...

[Kovacs] The basic treaty is a key issue, but naturally signing the document does not in itself mean immediate solutions to all issues; nor does the possible postponement of the signing mean that it is impossible to improve our relations. It is a key issue but not the only or decisive issue.

[Kiss] The man in the street often says that he is fed up with all the hassle about these basic treaties. Why is the Hungarian-Romanian basic treaty actually so important? Is it true that if agreement is not achieved, then Hungary would find itself in an even worse situation than its neighbors regarding European integration?

[Kovacs] It is important for Hungary to have normal relations with its neighbors because this contributes to the region's stability, and thus to strengthening Hungary's and her neighbors' security. Conversely, it is difficult to imagine truly extensive and broad economic cooperation without a given level of relations, political contacts, and trust. The third factor is that to assert the interests of the minorities living in each other's countries, we can be more effective if bilateral relations are better and trust is stronger. Thus, there is no danger

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of misunderstandings and it cannot happen that one country wants to interfere in another's domestic affairs. On the basis of mutual goodwill and good intentions, we can settle issues within the framework of European norms.

Finally, the fourth aspect: It is very true that the euro-atlantic institutions would only like to have countries join them that do not bring disputes, problems, or tensions into the EU or NATO. Therefore, settling disputed issues prior to joining is a membership condition for Hungary, Slovakia, Romania, or any other country in the region. Hungary is no more or less interested in settling relations than her neighbors. This is a common interest. What is really encouraging is that, sooner or later, we will be able to settle these problems. The basic treaty is a means to this.

[Kiss] Based on the events preceding the Bucharest talks, can we expect progress on disputed issues?

[Kovacs] I do not consider it correct for a foreign minister to make predictions before such talks. I can only talk about the government's and my intentions: These are directed at signing the basic treaty, naturally, with the already mentioned content. We only see the point of a basic treaty if it establishes legal conditions for settling open issues, including the confirmation of national minority rights. This is not some kind of specific Hungarian intention. I will mention a dramatic example: The crisis and war raging on the territory of the former Yugoslavia partly originated from an ethnic minority type of conflict.

[Kiss] It is indeed foolish to expect predictions from a foreign minister. Nevertheless, you probably know what you are taking with you?

[Kovacs] I will have intentions and goals with me, a willingness to agree, and I know below what minimum Hungary cannot go.

[Kiss] Does this mean that the Hungarian stance has not yet come to a collision point?

[Kovacs] It has long been at a collision point. At the latest foreign ministerial meeting in Budapest, the four issues on which we could not agree were outlined. If you like, four collision points were defined. These are the inclusion of the Council of Europe's Recommendation No. 1201 in the basic treaty, the national minority's right to use its mother tongue, its right to form political parties, and a bilateral control mechanism.

[Kiss] Romania is having its umpteenth interpretation debate on Recommendation No. 1201....

[Kovacs] Unfortunately, in Romania very many statements have attacked Recommendation No. 1201, calling it unacceptable. However, from the statements, it was perfectly clear to me that people making them did not know the recommendation's text and distorted its meaning. For example, it does not contain the terms "collective rights" or "territorial autonomy on an ethnic basis."

[Kiss] Does your mandate entitle you to reach agreement with the Romanian foreign minister on all disputed issues of the basic treaty?

[Kovacs] Yes, it does. Naturally, signing is the prime ministers' task, which is to be followed by parliamentary ratification. I do not know what Melescanu's mandate will include on 19 July. It depends on his mandate whether we can reach agreement. If so, there will be no need for a prime ministerial meeting. If not, it will obviously be needed.

More Bosnian Refugees Arrive at Nagyatad

LD1307102795 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0900 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] More Bosnian refugees are arriving in the receiving station of Nagyatad. A group of 71 people was admitted to the camp recently.

During the past two weeks, the number of the Nagyatad camp's inhabitants increased by 200. At the moment there are 1,650 Yugoslav refugees living in the camp. Camp manager Lajos Horvath told our radio that the barracks in Nagyatad could provide accommodation for a further 1,000 refugees.

The refugees fleeing from Bosnia are charged 1,000 German marks by the Serbs for transport to the Hungarian border. Thus, the mass exodus of refugees is prevented by the fact that the majority of Bosnians do not have this kind of money at their disposal.

Role of 'Party State' in Transformation Viewed

95CH0283B Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian 10 Jun 95 pp 105, 107-108

[Interview with economist and sociologist Maria Csanadi by Florian Mezes; place and date not given: "Back Here? Party State and Transformation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "The...remnants of the party state have a very great role in the transformation," writes (48-year-old) economist and sociologist Maria Csanadi in the introduction to her book, *Go On From Where?*, which was published in the spring. In her work she primarily charts the structure of relationships within and the operation of the party state, that is to say, the system of dependencies which interwove and regulated like a many-layered—and because of the existence

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of the "socialist world order," international—web the individual, institutional, political and social interests, behavior, and decisions. However, in her opinion, the mechanisms and reactions which survived as remnants of the collapse cannot lead to political regression in Hungary.

[Mezes] The party state fell apart, but as you write in your book, social reactions, the background structures, such as personal relationships, the established patterns of behavior, remained. In view of this did you see a chance, and if so, how big a chance, for the Socialists to win the second free elections after more than 40 years?

[Csanadi] After the collapse certain social relationships and patterns of behavior indeed remained. But I don't think that this is what enabled the Socialists to win last year's elections. Fundamentally not, because as I found out from my reading and research, with the collapse of the party state as a system these remnants found themselves in a different environment. Namely, after the party hierarchy disappeared together with the strings of power which bound the strategic decisionmakers of state, economic, and cultural institutions to the party, and feedback along these threads also became impossible, a change occurred in the environment which determined the behavior, adaptation considerations, goals of orientation, channels of appeal, coordination possibilities, and development considerations of decisionmakers within the remaining systems of relationships.

In the beginning I was more interested in the way in which the gradual loss of popularity led to an internal crisis, restructuring, and the strengthening of the radical wing of the leading party of the coalition government which was struggling with the suddenly erupting social and economic tension in the wake of the party state's collapse in an unstable, shifting political and economic environment. I was especially interested in whether Istvan Csurka had a chance to take over the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], and what kind of reaction his progress elicited within the MDF and the opposition parties. In the meantime, for a number of reasons which I will not go into here, the popularity lists of polls showed that the social dissatisfaction resulting from the tension favored not the radical Csurka line, but the Socialists. Of course, after a while, because of the growing popularity of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] I expected it to have a considerable impact in parliament. However, it was not the residual connections and behavior patterns that gave the Socialists a chance, but the negative consequences of the operation of the party state which appeared as features of the transformation: the economic crisis, the indebted state, the indebted companies, the devastated infrastructure, unemployment, inflation. The resulting dissatisfaction turned almost automatically into their political capital.

[Mezes] There are many indications that the old "connections" are being revived. I am thinking here of Privatization Minister Tamas Suchman's meetings with prominent managers of the former party state, or even that recently, according to several sources, a former "team" of the executive committee of the Communist Youth Organization held a gathering. Do you see in these events a will for political regression?

[Csanadi] Indeed, it is an exciting question whether a process of change can be turned around if the former cadres of the earlier regime reappear as decisionmakers themselves or in the environment of decisionmakers, or have perhaps never left those positions. Or, do these decisionmakers want to turn the process around at all, or even if they do not, do their presence, activities, reflexes, and connections automatically imply a "regression" to the earlier regime? We were able to ask this question even before the previous government took office, when fleeing from the MDF which was threatening political purges, and utilizing the new opportunities, the cream of the earlier political machinery, taking advantage of their knowledge of the field, their professional connections and expertise, appeared in business life as bank directors, representatives of foreign companies, and leaders of consulting firms. The question reemerged when the industrial minister ordered industrial councils to have a new vote on directors who were reaffirmed a few months earlier, but still in the final throes of the previous regime. In the course of the event which was hailed in politics as a democratic, fearless election of directors, 75 percent of the original directors who were regarded as "communist sympathizers," and were mostly former party members, were reelected. Then, an even more significant event followed: In the 1990 elections to local governments the earlier council presidents who ran as independent candidates were reelected in significant numbers as mayors, especially in smaller municipalities. Then, in 1993, elections to the social insurance administration followed, won by the successor of the union grouping which used to share in the power, the National Federation of Independent Hungarian Trade Unions [MSZOSZ]. And last year there were the parliamentary elections, when the Socialists had a sweeping victory.

As a result of the suddenly increased demand for cadres, the former cadres appeared in parliament, and as consultants in and around the political machinery. In view of this, one can rightly ask whether the considerable amount of state property, the opportunity to interfere, the necessity to interfere because of the economic crisis, the still weak control of decisions,

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the absolute majority within parliament, the reviving and emerging network of connections could lead to political regression. At the moment I think they could not, because both the external and the internal material, structural, political, and ideological, methodological, or personal prerequisites are missing for this step. The appearance of the representatives of a former regime does not yet lead to the regime's revival.

[Mezes] In the first parliamentary cycle the trade unions, especially the successors of the unions of the party state, seem to have been firmer than today, when they are sitting in the same parliamentary block with those "against" whom they represented, to the extent they did, the interests of workers. Moreover, beyond the existence of these points of personal connections, the readiness for confrontation has been further reduced by the fact that both the Socialist government party and its "trade unions" profess and insist on one of the basic tenets of the replaced regime, namely a sort of egalitarianism, whether we consider the prime minister's property tax trial balloons, or the statements by Sandor Nagy, president of MSZOSZ, to the effect that "the differences in income are too big." If certain priorities reappear just in the operation of the economy, doesn't that bring with it, in a somewhat modified form, the revival of the shattered network of social connections?

[Csanadi] The problem is not that the income scale has become much broader, and that there are people who are able to buy better services, but rather that with the transformation, masses of people suddenly lost advantages which they used to enjoy. But "egalitarianism" as the uniform opportunity of acquisition did not exist in the party state, either. On the contrary, the selective distribution of goods on the basis of a political rationale, or the opportunity to acquire goods based on political positions, was a basic attribute of the party state. It is another issue that the system of the party state collapsed because the operation on the basis of a political rationale consumed its economic resources.

However, the recently discernible objectives labeled as egalitarianism, and statements frequently made only to create political capital, conceal a complicated process. If we disregard this, we unintentionally trivialize the compounded insecurity of the individual's living conditions which was caused by the peculiar collapse and transformation determined by the party state's self-destroying mechanism and which can lead to social pressure.

One of the fundamental reasons for this insecurity is that the magnitude of change is extremely great in the transformation following the collapse of the party state. The role, social status, and financial position of individuals, groups, and institutions are changing. The quality of the changes is also unusual: They are not gradual and anticipated, rather they occur suddenly, and are mostly due not to human intention, but to changes in the environment. They affect not only isolated individuals or narrow groups, but they become mass phenomena. They take place not in one dimension, but in several, and not one after the next, rather all at the same time. The occurrences have no perceivable logic. The direction of the events also changes almost daily, because of the changeable nature of the environment; thus, the fluctuation is very great and frequent.

The institutional environment of changes is also unstable; institutional tasks and roles also frequently change. The position of institutions within the decisionmaking system is undeveloped. Key positions have not solidified yet, the system of responsibilities attached to them is volatile, and the occupants of the positions change frequently. The operational procedures are insecure and unsettled, the laws are incomplete and changeable. The mechanisms of checks and balances are primitive. Transitional hierarchies are being created. One cannot have an exact impression of the weights within the power structure. The interests represented by the parties are pliable, just as the interests and social composition of the membership supporting them. Ownership relations are primitive, the network and the expression of social interests are not articulated.

Because of the changes, the usual points of reference have also become unstable. The patterns of reference, formerly stable rules of behavior, and evaluation criteria are in the process of change. The ability of newly established connections to create a structure and an institution is random. The repetition of events is accidental and irregular. Repetition does not necessarily mean stabilization. There is no benchmark for the evaluation of the speed of change: The benchmark itself is changing. Thus, one can only judge after the fact which behaviors, connections, and operational rules turned out to be successful or unsuccessful.

Amid the hopelessness generated by the compounded insecurity, the members of society experience en masse that their living conditions are constantly deteriorating. They experience measures of restriction without compensation, the disintegration of the social net, the increasing difficulty of obtaining cultural goods, the spectacular degeneration of health care, and at the same time, the suddenly broadening income scale accompanied by corruption and a black market. Therefore, I think it would be deceptive to regard the protest against the radical decline of the standard of living as a protest against liberalization, and as an effort to return to the priorities of the previous regime. Just as deceptive as the promises held out by certain conservative politicians who are try-

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ing to oppose government measures by harnessing the dissatisfaction of the classes on the downslide, or are made by politicians of the Socialist party.

Value of Welfare Restrictions Questioned

95CH0282A Budapest UJ DEMOKRATA in Hungarian 1 Jun 95 p 33

[FBIS Translated Text] *There is total chaos in the various ministries in connection with the imminent government measures. In this period when billions are donated to the banks, the UJ DEMOKRATA tried to arrive at some figures on the budget revenues resulting from the social measures that were taken at the population's expense.*

We received mostly hesitating and finger-pointing answers from the officials of the portfolios that are involved the most, namely, the ministries of social welfare, education, and social security. Some of them admitted that no such calculations have been made. This means two things. First, the origins of the data presented below are not official estimates or speculative calculations. Second, the fact that the quantification of consequences has begun in the ministries only after final parliamentary approval, while Lajos Bokros claims that every single measure of the stabilization program has been preceded by thorough and extensive impact assessments, is something to think about.

Who conducted these assessments if the appropriate ministries, which ought to be most familiar with, and most knowledgeable about, the given branch's problems, do not know anything about the details?

Undoubtedly, it was the planned restructuring of the system of family allowance that caused the greatest public upheaval. Originally, the finance ministry expected a saving of 18 billion forints [Ft] from a decrease in welfare expenditures that affect families, but the national outcry softened the measures. Until now, Ft2,759 in aid was given for one child, Ft3,250 for two children, and 3,750 for three or more children.

In the final version, the aid to families with three or more children remained unchanged. Incidentally, a family with a net per capita income of up to Ft15,000 will be qualified to receive 100 percent, one with up to Ft16,250 will be qualified to receive 70 percent, and one with up to Ft17,000 will be qualified to receive 40 percent of the earlier aid. According to Ministry of Social Welfare estimates, the final version will save Ft10-12 billion for the treasury.

Similarly, exacting a ransom from the future generation will result in little benefit. It is well known how utterly important the environment is for a child in its first two-and-a-half years. This is when its personality traits develop, this is when it explores the world, this is when it is the most receptive to various impressions.

Its mother's closeness is particularly important during these years; she protects it, teaches it, and helps it solve developing conflicts. By and large, the regulations have satisfied these pedagogic expectations until now, for a mother with a child received child care benefits for two years, generally 75 percent of her wages, and it was only in the third year when she had to resort to child care assistance, which amounted to the existing smallest amount of retirement pensions, which is Ft8,400 at present.

In the new system, child care benefits are discontinued and are replaced by Pregnancy and Childbirth Benefits for six months at 70 percent of earlier wages, and for another six months at 60 percent. Beginning with the second year, the mother is qualified to receive child care assistance under unchanged conditions if the family house is worth not more than 10 million, the family car is worth not more than two million, and if the family can in general afford the luxury of raising children. The government's gain will amount to a mere Ft4-5 billion.

The introduction of tuition will result in smaller revenues. The planned tuition of Ft2,000 will affect 100,000-110,000 regular and 50,000-60,000 evening or correspondence students at universities. If this is introduced in September, the treasury will have a revenue of Ft1.3 billion this year, which is equivalent to an annual revenue of Ft3 billion.

The government also expects a saving of Ft1.3 billion by excluding dental care from the national health insurance program. For, as of 1 July, the 44 percent health insurance contributions will only cover tooth extraction, and that, too, only in designated dental clinics.

All of a sudden, we have too many hospital beds as well.

Health insurance is planning to reduce the number of hospital beds from the present 100,000 to 87,000. Depending on the quality of care, this will mean a saving of Ft3.9-5 billion.

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In adding up all this, it is apparent that the entire social restriction package will amount to no more than Ft28 billion. If we add to this that a hole of Ft10 billion was created in the health care program as a result of the price increases for medications that followed the forint's devaluation and that, according to our information, this hole will have to be filled by the population (which can absorb the price increases for medications that had been subsidized earlier up to 40 or 70 percent), the gain is still only Ft33 billion.

Of course, we must be frugal, for there is a great deficit in our budget. But it is of no use to close the spigot if the wine can seep through the cracks. Such casks are generally replaced...

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Akashi Rules Out UN Restoration of Srebrenica

LD1207124895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1220 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, July 12 (TANJUG)—UN Special Envoy Yasushi Akashi said Wednesday that no attempt would be made to restore the UN "safe area" around the Moslem enclave of Srebrenica now that Bosnian Serb Army had taken the town.

"I don't think that will be possible," Akashi told reporters in Zagreb who wanted to know whether the United Nations would militarily intervene. The Bosnian Serb Army entered Srebrenica on Tuesday afternoon to put an end to Moslem attacks mounted from the enclave.

The Bosnian Serb Army explains its move by the fact that Moslems were continually using the enclave, which as a UN-declared "safe area" should have been demilitarised, for terrorist attacks on Bosnian Serbs that had left 30 civilians dead over the past 45 days alone.

Akashi also rejected a proposal by French President Jacques Chirac who said France was prepared to take military action to recapture Srebrenica if the United Nations asked it to do so. Chirac said it was up to the UN Security Council to ask the Rapid Reaction Force to "restore the integrity of the Srebrenica zone."

UN Spokesman: Reverse Impossible

AU1207144395 Paris AFP in English 1412 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, July 12 (AFP)—A United Nations spokesman in Zagreb on Wednesday [12 July] dismissed the French willingness to participate in UN rapid reaction forces to retake the Srebrenica enclave from Bosnian Serb forces. "It's impossible to reverse the situation in Srebrenica," UN spokesman Philip Arnold said.

The Rapid Reaction Force "which is only partially on the ground is an element in the UN forces in the former Yugoslavia; it's under the command of General (Bernard) Janvier," and not the French president, Arnold said, reiterating the supranational character of the United Nations. France had told the UN Security Council it was willing to participate forcefully in restoring the zone to UN protection.

"The UN Security Council has to decide diplomatic and if necessary military measures to reestablish the safety zone," French Prime Minister Alain Juppe said in Paris. "France is ready to participate, with in particular the Rapid Reaction Force, if this decision is made by those who have to take it." But a decision by the Security Council to use force is likely to be vetoed by Russia, which has had close links to the Serbs.

The UN spokesman said peacekeepers were "more preoccupied with protection of civilians" than with the protection of territory. The safe area around Srebrenica "never had a precise territorial definition," he said. Peacekeepers had decided to concentrate on the humanitarian aid situation, which involved feeding some '0,000 people living in appalling conditions in the enclave. People were trying to flee towards the city of Tuzla, another UN safe area where 200,000 were already living, many as refugees, Arnold said.

UN Peace Mediator Assesses UN Role in Bosnia

MS1307110195 London BBC Television Network in English 2130 GMT 12 Jul 95

[Interview with Carl Bildt, UN peace mediator, by Sue Cameron on 12 July; place not given; from the "Newsnight" program—recorded]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Cameron] Earlier I asked Mr. Bildt what if anything he thought could be done now?

[Bildt] Well the key thing would of course be if president Milosevic was ready to recognise Bosnia-Herzegovina as a country, because I think that would be a significant step towards a political solution; it would not be the political solution but it would be a significant step. And in return for that there is the willingness of the international community to consider the suspension of certain of the sanctions, but we must also be seeking situations or seeking changes of the situation on the ground.

[Cameron] What sort of changes do you want to see on the ground in the short term that you think might be possible?

[Bildt] We have had difficulties for a long time with the Bosnian Serbs, there have been increasing difficulties during the last few weeks with the Bosnian Government, and with them taking different measures that have not been helpful, to put it very mildly, though we must be sure of the freedom of movement of the UN forces otherwise there is no way in which they will be able to carry out their tasks, that has to be of paramount importance.

[Cameron] The French have been particularly robust. I mean in talking about the possibility of being ready to retake Srebrenica, they are certainly being far tougher than perhaps Britain seems to be, do you think there is some...to what extent do think there is some kind of split there between the French and British approach?

[Bildt] I don't think there is a split in terms of approach; there might be a split in terms of political cultures of different sorts when it come to the domestic, political

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environments. I mean it is very easy to have robust talks, but there are bitter realities to military operations and there are bitter realities to what is actually the situation on the ground in Bosnia, and I find it somewhat difficult to see any major military operation mounted by anyone to really retake Srebrenica. It's a long distance away from the present forces and you would have to fight your way there, and once there you have to be able to achieve something.

[Cameron] What sort moves do you think could be made to secure the giving of humanitarian aid to this growing number of refugees?

[Bildt] Well there are talks underway, both in Tuzla which is rather nearby and with the authorities in Pale, on the different ways in which that could be done. The best way obviously, if you just look at the map that's obvious to you, is to bring the relief convoys through Serbia and into Srebrenica. I think that is the most practical option that is there.

[Cameron] But do you think that there is any real chance of that happening, particularly in view of the UN's sort of total failure really up to now and the humiliation that it suffered?

[Bildt] If you listen to the Bosnian Serbs side, and I have to listen to all of them really, you will find that they would highlight the fact that during last week for example and the weeks preceding that, there have been a number of military operations conducted out of the Srebrenica safe area towards the Serbian positions. And I see, I think they see, what is happening is that they started what is really a limited local counteroperation in Tuzla and then that suddenly developed into something that proved vastly more successful from their point of view than they anticipated. That's part of the picture of what we've seen during the past few days.

[Cameron] So do you accept their account of events which is that there have been these raids out of Srebrenica or do you think as some people are saying that the real reason is that the Serbs just want to be in a much stronger bargaining position, particularly before the Rapid Reaction Force is built up?

[Bildt] I don't think they were planning for a strategic operation around Srebrenica at this time; there has been no significant build up of forces during the past few weeks. It started as a limited operation from their side, and it might have been triggered by the limited operations that were carried out by the Bosnian Government forces. Then they went far beyond anything that is defensive as a military countermove, and they have clearly violated all the provisions of the United Nations Security Council.

EU Administrator: UN Resolution 'Baloney'

AU1307101395 Paris AFP in English 0944 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bonn, July 13 (AFP)—The European Union administrator for the Bosnian town of Mostar said Thursday that the UN Security Council [UNSC] resolution demanding the immediate withdrawal of Serb forces from the eastern enclave of Srebrenica was baloney. "This resolution is again nothing but baloney which nobody takes seriously," Hans Koschnick said in an interview with Germany's KOELNER EXPRESS daily.

"We're lying to ourselves day after day with these resolutions and it makes me sick," he said. "We cannot defend such enclaves so far into Serb territory without war, and if we don't want that we should retreat," Koschnick said. "The United Nations and NATO should finally say what they really want and define a policy," he said.

As for Europe, it should promise less and do more, he said.

The southern Bosnian town of Mostar was placed under EU administration following fierce fighting between mainly Moslem government forces and Croat troops.

UNPROFOR on 'Flaws' in UN Safe Area Mandates

BR1207133495 Hilversum Nederland-1 Television Network in Dutch 1800 GMT 11 Jul 95

[Interview with UNPROFOR spokesman Lt. Col. Gary Coward, in Sarajevo, by announcer Joop van Zijl in studio on 11 July "shortly before this newscast"—recorded, in English with superimposed translation into Dutch]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Van Zijl] Good evening Mr. Coward. Srebrenica is in the hands of the Bosnian Serbs now. Was the requested NATO air support this afternoon carried out in a timely way? The Dutch asked for it three times.

[Coward] Yes, indeed, there were requests for close air support on previous occasions. On each occasion it was deemed inappropriate because of technical, operational, or perhaps political reasons. Eventually, the conditions were met for close air support. This afternoon at 1440 local time, there were two separate close air support missions which attacked and destroyed, as far as we can tell, two Bosnian Serb tanks.

[Van Zijl] Is there a possibility that the NATO air strikes triggered the Bosnian Serbs' final attack?

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[Coward] No, I do not believe so. It would seem now that the Bosnian Serbs' objective all along was to take the Srebrenica enclave and, of course, the town itself. They stated in the last few hours that their aim is to demilitarize the enclave, which is what they seem to be doing. As the air strikes were taking place this afternoon, there certainly were efforts by the Bosnian Serbs to outflank and pass through, bypass the defensive positions of the Dutch battalion's B Company in Srebrenica.

[Van Zijl] May we say that the fall of Srebrenica is a major blow to the prestige of the United Nations. I mean for the very first time one of the safe havens has been taken by force.

[Coward] Yes, I think it is fair to say it is a major blow. It is a major disappointment in spite of the courage of the members of B Company and the NATO attacks to deter the Bosnian Serbs. In spite of that, our efforts failed. Srebrenica has fallen. This has illustrated, perhaps in the most graphic way, the flaws inherent in all of the safe area mandates.

[Van Zijl] And now the Muslim population of Srebrenica and the thousands of refugees are fleeing the town. What is the situation now? Where can they go? What can the United Nations do for them?

[Coward] The commanding officer of the Dutch Battalion, Lieutenant Colonel Karremans, has instructions to do what he can to protect the refugees in that area, to give them whatever support he has at his disposal, to treat the wounded, and to negotiate with the local Bosnian Serb commanders.

[Van Zijl] It has been reported that Mr. Karremans is being held by the Serbs right now. Do you know anything about that?

[Coward] My understanding is that he is due to meet with the Bosnian Serbs at about this time to conduct negotiations to ensure that his objectives can be met.

[Van Zijl] Any idea about the position of the 30 Dutch soldiers? Are they hostages?

[Coward] Well, my understanding is all 30 of them are in the town of Bratunac, which is to the northeast of the Srebrenica enclave. We understand they are being reasonably well treated and I hope that in the process of his negotiations, Colonel Karremans will gain their release.

[Van Zijl] Thank you.

RRF Commander: Force Not Ready Until Aug

AU1307111595 Paris AFP in English 1100 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tomislavgrad, Bosnia-Herzegovina, July 13 (AFP)—The commander of one of three components of the Rapid Reaction Force [RRF] in Bosnia said Thursday that the team will not be ready until at least August. "We do not yet have the air capacity to permit us to engage in the enclaves," General Andre told journalists in this western Herzegovina town.

He confirmed that he had not yet received orders to intervene or to help in the withdrawal of UN peacekeepers, and that his forces answered to the United Nations chain of command. An action to retake Srebrenica, captured by the Bosnian Serbs, "is not within our capabilities," he said.

Asked what the Rapid Reaction Forces were for, the general responded that they "had not yet deployed" and only his Multinational Brigade, one of three components, was operational. His brigade included 3,200 men, French, English and Dutch, plus ground vehicles and 19 helicopters.

In addition, the Rapid Reaction Force will comprise the British 24th Air Brigade of 4,000 men which will not be ready until the beginning of August, plus another 4,000 men in France whose arrival date is not yet set, Soubirou said.

The general also said UN Secretary General and his special representative Yasushi Akashi were to visit later Thursday to view "our state of preparedness and maybe give some guidance."

Izetbegovic Delivers Series of Demands to UN

LD1207221095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 12 Jul 95

[Report on news conference given by Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic by Senada Cumurovic in Sarajevo on 12 July—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Cumurovic] President Izetbegovic in the first part of his press conference listed several demands delivered to the international powers in connection with the [Serb] aggressor's crime in Srebrenica.

[Izetbegovic] We demand first of all that the United Nations and NATO use force to restore the protected zone of Srebrenica within the borders before the attack, that is, within the borders of May 1993. Second, if they cannot or will not do this, we demand that they

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say so publicly. Third, we demand that they find the means, including airdrops, in coordination with UNHCR to provide tents, food, and medicine for the refugees near the protected zone, and the evacuation of wounded and sick civilians in the opposite direction. If they cannot or will not do this, let them say so. Furthermore, the least they can do after all this, the least they owe this country, which is an equal member state of the United Nations, and these people, is to give clear and unambiguous answers to the above questions. The present confusion is [words indistinct] the officials of the United Nations, NATO, European officials, U.S. officials [words indistinct] their confused and contradictory statements only further aggravate the already difficult situation in Srebrenica.

It goes without saying that their negative response would imply public agreement with the legalization of force in international law, and the acceptance of the act of genocide as a fait accompli, and of war criminals as equal partners to talks. Therefore, they are avoiding clear answers and that is exactly why we are demanding clear answers. I would like to add here that I am afraid that the latest development in the situation today has already provided the answers to these questions. Just before this news conference, to which I arrived late, I had a telephone conversation from which one can conclude that the Chetniks have entered Potocari, that they have disarmed the battalion there, i.e. part of the Dutch Battalion, that they are separating the women from the men, that they are taking the men to the stadium, and so on. This has not been confirmed, but it seems reliable enough information to me.

Finally, I would like to add that I have spent the last two days touring the ground in Bosnia-Herzegovina, outside Sarajevo, and I have met General Delic and the corps commanders. We had detailed discussions about the military situation in the country, particularly in the Sarajevo theater of operations. We confirmed our determination to lift the city siege by political or military means. They (?are not) convinced that they can do that. I also visited some units at Mt. Cemerska, and sa v for myself the high morale of our soldiers.

[Cumurovic] After this statement, reporters had a chance to ask three questions and the first two were about Akashi's behavior in this new situation. Yes, he is responsible for this situation, Izetbegovic said, and added:

[Izetbegovic] First of all, because he missed the chance last year when he had a free hand to destroy the killing machine, as we called it, in its campaign on Gorazde. Mr. Akashi is the embodiment of all the faltering that is so characteristic of the United Nations. He is probably the best example of the kind of faltering that has led to the tragedy in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Cumurovic] This brief news conference finished with a comment on the possible demand for the departure of UN Protection Force from Bosnia-Herzegovina. I think that in any case we will not extend their mandate after November. Whether we will demand that the UN pull out of Bosnia-Herzegovina before that is still under consideration, President Alija Izetbegovic of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency said.

Wants Srebrenica Retaken

AU1207141595 Paris AFP in English 1359 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 12 (AFP)—President Alija Izetbegovic called Wednesday [12 July] on the UN and NATO to use force to restore the safe area of Srebrenica which fell to Bosnian Serbs troops on Tuesday.

As Serb infantry entered the UN compound at Potocari, in the north of the eastern enclave where thousands of refugees have massed after fleeing the Serb assault, Izetbegovic said "the United Nations and NATO should restore by force the borders of the Srebrenica safe area."

He also called on the United Nations to provide food and shelter for the refugees in the fallen enclave or "if they cannot do these things, to say so publicly."

"The least they owe to this country, a fellow United Nations member, is a clear answer to these questions," the Bosnian president said.

He also condemned the UN special envoy in the region, Yasushi Akashi. He said Akashi should resign. "Mister Akashi is the personification of all the hesitation that has been shown by the United Nations, and that hesitation has brought about this situation."

Izetbegovic also said his government would not extend the UN mandate beyond November but "we will not ask for (UN troops) to leave before November." Izetbegovic later qualified his statement saying "this is one of the possible actions. But I am almost certain we will not extend the mandate."

Silajdzic Berates UN, Urges End to Arms Embargo

NC1207191295 London MBC Television in Arabic 1800 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic has described the UN officials' behavior as betrayal. In an interview with MBC, he explained the failure of the UN air raids in preventing the Serbs from overrunning Srebrenica.

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[Begin recording] [Silajdzic in progress] ...because the request by the United Nations, notably UN envoy Akashi was too late. We consider this to be a betrayal by UN officials of the Srebrenica safe haven, which was under UN protection. Srebrenica was free of weapons and the UN officials were late in requesting NATO help.

[MBC correspondent 'Awn] After the fall of a zone under UN protection, how will you deal with the UN forces now?

[Silajdzic] We will consider this issue seriously. We call for returning things to what they were before the Serb aggression against the safe haven. The big problem now is the exodus of approximately 30,000 to 40,000 people outside and north of Srebrenica. What counts now is their fate.

['Awn] You have friends in the world, particularly in the Arab world and the Islamic world. What do you want them to do now?

[Silajdzic] The ban on arms has proved a failure as a measure and remedy for this tragedy. The arms ban helped the Serb enemy to attack Bosnia-Herzegovina, usurp our land, and kill innocent people. Thus, the friendly countries must lift the ban on arms in accordance with the UN Charter and apply to the United Nations, notably the Security Council, to lift the arms embargo. They must also request an extraordinary session of the UN General Assembly immediately to debate the Bosnia-Herzegovina issue. [end recording]

Serbs Knew UN Would Not Act

AU1207195895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 12 Jul 95

[Interview with Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic by Senada Cumurovic in Sarajevo on 12 July—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Cumurovic] Mr. Silajdzic, the situation in Srebrenica has unfortunately ended tragically for the population of that town. The latest information is that the [Serb] aggressor's troops have not only captured the town but are also trying to evacuate the population from the entire area. What is the latest that you have?

[Silajdzic] My understanding is that 16 trucks are already transporting the people of Srebrenica in the direction of Kladanj, and then to Tuzla. That is about 1,800 people. Others are being taken to the stadium in Bratunac. That is my information. I have just spoken to Minister Cero, who confirmed that [words indistinct] if possible at the airport in Tuzla, but we will have to see what numbers of people we are talking about. [Word indistinct] will be in Kladanj to receive these people.

[Cumurovic] What about the other people of Srebrenica?

[Silajdzic] As far as I know, they have been taken to the stadium in Bratunac. That is all I know.

[Cumurovic] It is not only Srebrenica. The Serb aggressor's troops are also attacking Zepa. What is the situation there, according to your information?

[Silajdzic] We know that the Serb terrorists have prepared a great number of troops [word indistinct] Rogatica [word indistinct]. There are many such groups and military hardware, and it is obvious that the attack on Zepa will [word indistinct].

[Cumurovic] This interview with Prime Minister Silajdzic was interrupted by a telephone call from Zepa, which we witnessed.

[Silajdzic] Repeat that, repeat that to me. Yes? You repelled two attacks last night? What else? There was an attack this morning, is that right?

Well, you have heard. There were two attacks last night, two infantry attacks. There was another one this morning. Now, as we spoke, the wider area and the center are being shelled. There are also infantry attacks, but they are not as heavy as last night and this morning.

[Cumurovic] One more question, please. Why did Mladic, Karadzic, and Milosevic choose this moment to attack the protected zones of Srebrenica, Zepa, and Gorazde?

[Silajdzic] I think that they assessed that this was a good time. The Hague Court is about to come up with a ruling and they would obviously like to sort some things out before everything starts going downhill. I think that this is what happened. They made the military assessment that this was a good time for them and, as you can see, they have gone for it. On the other hand, they know that the United Nations, and particularly people like Yasushi Akashi, will not do anything, that is, they will do as little as possible, just as when they delayed the air strikes now.

Sacirbegovic Condemns UN, NATO Handling

AU1207204595 Paris AFP in English 2031 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Brussels, July 12 (AFP)—Bosnian Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic on Wednesday [12 July] slammed NATO and the United Nations for the way they handled the Serb capture of Srebrenica.

"They didn't do a good job," he said after a surprise visit to NATO headquarters where he met NATO Secretary

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General Willy Claes and the British, French, Turkish and U.S. ambassadors to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization at his own request. "We have come to a situation where there needs to be a realignment between our country, the UN and by extension NATO."

The fall of Srebrenica was incomprehensible, he said. "We are still searching for answers. If the international community wishes to contain the problem in former Yugoslavia and in Bosnia in particular, they have to be more honest. We should quit talking in terms of fantasy," he added in a reference to the multinational Rapid Reaction Force. "The only role that the UN soldiers seem to have now is to become hostages."

Bosnian Serb forces captured the Moslem enclave of Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia on Tuesday.

Zubak Protests Serb Aggression in Srebrenica

LD1207165495 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosnia in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kresimir Zubak, president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has sent a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali in which he strongly condemns the Serb aggression and occupation of Srebrenica and the escalation of attacks against other protected zones in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is obviously the intention of the aggressor to occupy these areas as well and to expose the population to the most severe and brutal pogrom, ethnic cleansing, and genocide, President Zubak says in the letter. He adds:

Mr. Secretary General, we are profoundly disappointed by the failure of your organization to take more decisive and effective measures and by the failure to use other instruments of coercion which are available to you to halt the aggression. We maintain that the lack of an effective reaction to the latest tragic developments in the protected zones will lead to an extremely worrying obstruction of political processes in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in the region as a whole. As I believe you are aware, according to the Contact Group's peace proposals, Srebrenica and the other UN-protected zones are an integral part of the territory of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Therefore, we consider that these developments are a form of pressure on the implementation of the project for a Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which casts doubt on the political will of the most important international players who support its further development.

Since we consider that you are the person most responsible for the effective implementation of the relevant UN resolutions, we call on you to exert pressure on the Serb aggressor with all the means at your disposal in accordance with the proposals adopted in the Security Council. In doing so you would show that in its 50th anniversary year the United Nations can be a forum for the effective and principled solution of current and possible new conflicts and crises. This would also prevent the further erosion of the credibility of your organization and would make possible the preservation and implementation of the basic principles of the UN Charter so flagrantly violated in the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the letter from Federation President Kresimir Zubak to UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali says.

Muratovic: Government Opposes Evacuation

AU1207202795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 12 Jul 95

[Report by Enes Osmancevic from Tuzla]

[FBIS Translated Text] The agony of the expelled people of Srebrenica has continued in Potocari. According to UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] assessments, there are about 25,000 people in and around the Blue Helmets' base in this town. As for the rest of the population of this never protected zone, there is no information yet. The expelled people of Srebrenica are being exposed to psychological torture by the aggressor in Potocari. On top of the constant threats, the aggressor's General Mladic is trying to force these unfortunate people to leave Potocari.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina Government is most adamantly opposed to the evacuation of the population from the Srebrenica zone, and will consider anyone assisting the evacuation of these people as an accomplice to war crimes and ethnic cleansing. This view was presented to UNHCR special envoy [words indistinct] at today's meeting with Bosnia-Herzegovina Ministers Muratovic, Cero, and Zigic, and [word indistinct] of the Tuzla-Podrinje Canton. The view was reiterated that the UNHCR and other UN agencies are fully responsible for the Srebrenica zone. It was demanded that the international community immediately create tolerable conditions for life for the expelled population. This implies the immediate delivery of food, water, and medicine to Potocari, and the provision of temporary accommodation for these unfortunate people.

UNHCR special envoy [words indistinct] promised that he would do everything in his power.

The sick and weak have to be urgently evacuated to third countries, where they can be given adequate treatment. That is why the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government delegation demanded the urgent establishment of an air bridge to Tuzla, and from Tuzla a helicopter link to Srebrenica. As for humanitarian aid, they asked for air

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drops in addition to the urgent opening of land corridors.

Following this meeting, Minister Muratovic again reiterated the importance of the agreements between Bosnia-Herzegovina and the United Nations of 8 May 1993, in which the United Nations undertook the obligation to protect the population of the protected zones and to deliver humanitarian aid.

When I asked who launched the misinformation [word indistinct] that the situation in Srebrenica had calmed down, Minister Muratovic said: UNPROFOR. It seems that this was part of the agreement between General Janvier and the aggressor, in which he handed over Srebrenica to the aggressor in return for the UNPROFOR members held as hostages by the aggressor.

SDP: Clinton 'Guilty' of Fall of Srebrenica

AU1207204095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A horrific crime has been committed in Srebrenica, organized by UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], the United Nations, and the centers of world power concentrated in Paris, London, Moscow, and Washington. This was said at today's news conference by the Social Democratic Party [SDP] of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Deputy Chairman Gradimir Gojer.

He stressed that U.S. President Bill Clinton is particularly guilty for this, who, in his words, yesterday lost his last [words indistinct] enclaves, and because of this the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government should be denied the elementary right to self-defense. [passage omitted]

Lazovic Accuses West of 'Moral Hypocricy'

AU1207203095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Bosnia-Herzegovina parliamentary parties have been warning for a long time now about the problematic attitude of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] toward the implementation of their mandate and have therefore put forward certain initiatives to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly for the revision of the policy toward the functioning of UNPROFOR [words indistinct], reads a statement from the office of Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly Chairman Miro Lazovic.

The fall of the protected and demilitarized zone of Srebrenica marks the [word indistinct] of the entire policy of the United Nations and the international community toward the aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina. This development unveils the moral hypocrisy of the international community, which ought to be ashamed of itself for its own lack of principles. As for us, we are left with disappointment, bitterness, and the duty to do everything that we can to defend ourselves from the aggressor and the [word indistinct] of the international community.

The latest developments leave no doubt that UNPROFOR is not implementing any of its mandate and that everything concerning it is directly geared to maintaining the status quo and supporting the aggressor's goals and genocidal methods. Therefore, the question of UNPROFOR's presence in Bosnia-Herzegovina is not one of the proclaimed mandate, but rather that of supporting the interests of the European powers that are the most dominant within UNPROFOR. The arrival of the British-French intervention troops, whose mandate has not been explained, only represents an attempt to divert attention from UNPROFOR, which has been completely exposed under the magnifying glass of their own public. [passage omitted]

UN Reports on Civilian Refugees From Srebrenica

Prisoners Taken From Potocari

AU1207131195 Paris AFP in English 1242 GMT 12 Jul 95

[Report by Adrian Brown]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, July 12 (AFP)—UN officials in Bosnia faced a humanitarian crisis in the eastern enclave of Srebrenica Wednesday as Serb separatists pressed their advantage and the UN Security Council struggled to formulate a response to the fall of the former safe area.

Up to 30,000 refugees who fled Srebrenica town Tuesday were camped inside or around the Dutch UN compound at Potocari, a small village in the north of the enclave, and were in the hands of Serb forces who had already infiltrated the compound, UN officials said.

UN civil spokesman Alexander Ivanko said "a group of BSA (Bosnian Serb Army) soldiers" had entered the compound but gave no further details. A medical aid group in Brussels said the soldiers were taking prisoners. [passage omitted]

UN High Commissioner for Refugees spokesman Ron Redmond said that 20,000 refugees outside the UN camp at Potocari had "absolutely nothing."

"We want to be able to rush food and medicine to them, as well as mattresses for 60 wounded people in the camp," he added.

UNHCR spokesman Kris Janowski said an aid convoy carrying "food and nonfood items" had left the Serbian

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capital Belgrade for Srebrenica but lacked any clearance from the Bosnian Serbs. "They decide what comes and what goes out."

In a statement, the Medecins sans Frontieres [Doctors Without Borders] relief organisation in Brussels said: "The Serbs (in Potocari) intend to evacuate the population via Bratunac (near the Serbian border) starting with the women and children."

A UN spokesman in Sarajevo said the Serbs faced no resistance on entering the camp. [passage omitted]

And UN officials in Sarajevo said the viability of the enclave and two other UN-designated safe areas in eastern Bosnia, Gorazde and Zepa, was questionable. "We have limited means and we are not able to defend these people," Ivanko said.

The contempt shown by the Serb forces as they brushed aside UN resistance in the supposedly UN-defended enclave has dealt a severe blow to the UN mission in Bosnia. "The collapse of a UN safe area once again vividly highlights in stark terms the complexity of this mission and the unacceptably barbarous nature of this war," Ivanko said. [passage omitted]

In Tehran, Iranian leader Ayatollah Ali Khamene'i criticised the failure of the UN Security Council for its failure to defend Srebrenica, slamming the "silence towards the practice of ethnic cleansing" and the "lies of the Western world which claims to be a defender of human rights."

Negotiations With Pale Continue

AU1207145395 Paris AFP in English
1424 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, July 12 (AFP)—Negotiations were under way between UN officials and Serb authorities aimed at ensuring the safe passage of civilians fleeing Srebrenica, a UN spokesman said here Wednesday. "We are meeting Serb authorities regularly over the fate of civilians from the former Moslem enclave of Srebrenica," said a spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) who insisted on anonymity. Srebrenica fell on Tuesday to Serb forces who defied repeated warnings not to advance on the UN-designated safe haven.

"So far the position of the Serb authorities is that they do not intend to expel the entire civilian population from the enclave," added the spokesman. He said the Pale authorities had given the UNHCR "assurances" that those civilians wanting to leave the enclave would be able to leave in safe conditions. He said they had ordered their troops to respect the civilian population in the zone of Srebrenica. However Stephan Oberreit, a spokesman for the humanitarian aid organisation Medecins Sans Frontieres [Doctors Without Borders—MSF], told AFP in Belgrade that Serb forces had fired on columns of refugees as they fled towards Potocari in the north of the enclave.

A spokesman in Belgrade for the UN Protection Force said 60 wounded people from Srebrenica had been taken to the hospital in Potocari where Dutch UN peacekeepers have established their headquarters. Oberreit estimated that around 30,000 people fled Srebrenica on Tuesday. The exodus comprising mainly women, children, and elderly people arrived Wednesday in Potocari to find little or no adequate shelter and appalling sanitary conditions.

Oberreit, citing MSF personnel, said the Serb Army had made a decision which was accepted by the UN Protection Force to transfer the refugees to a football stadium in Bratunac, some 10 kilometres (six miles) north of Srebrenica. However he said he did not know the precise terms of the decision. "Serb soldiers have been distributing food to the population before the beginning of the transfer," said Oberreit. He added the transfer was waiting for international monitors from the UNHCR and the International Committee of the Red Cross. Oberreit added: "We want guarantees that anyone remaining behind in the former enclave will be left alone."

In Belgrade an MSF convoy comprising 30 tonnes of medical supplies for the population of Srebrenica was on stand by and waiting for permission from Serb authorities to leave, said Oberreit.

Serbs Separating Men

AU1207153295 Paris AFP in English
1458 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 12 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb forces have begun shipping hundreds of civilians from among the fallen government enclave of Srebrenica on trucks and buses, UN officials said on Wednesday [12 July].

General Ratko Mladic, the Bosnian Serb Army commander, arrived in person to organise the evacuation, UN spokesman Lieutenant Colonel Gary Coward said. "Mladic turned up with between 30 and 40 trucks and buses apparently smiling for the cameras that were on hand and ordered everyone to get in," Coward said. Coward said Dutch peacekeepers were told the mainly Moslem refugees were being taken to Kladanj, a government-held town 50 kilometers to the west of the enclave.

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Thousands of refugees who fled the Serb advance on the UN safe area on Tuesday were milling in and around the UN base at Potocari, several kilometers north of Srebrenica town. Another UN official in Zagreb said the trucks were being used to ferry "fighting age men" to a nearby Serb-held town for "screening." Dutch peacekeepers had tried to get agreement that at least one peacekeeper went with each truck to ensure the men's safety.

Aid Convoy Approved

AU1207171595 Paris AFP in English
1639 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Zagreb, July 12 (AFP)—UN officials have received permission from Bosnian Serbs to send aid to Srebrenica, a UN spokeswoman said, as six trucks carrying food, blankets and mattresses made their way to the enclave. "We have received written authorisation from the Bosnian Serbs to enter the enclave," said UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) spokeswoman Alemka Lisinski in Zagreb. The convoy of 23 tonnes of aid had earlier left Belgrade for the former UN safe area in eastern Bosnia even though UN officials did not then have clearance.

Serb forces captured Srebrenica on Tuesday, forcing Dutch UN peacekeepers to pull back and sending tens of thousands of civilians fleeing to the Dutch compound in nearby Potocari.

However Lisinski said the UNHCR "is not taking any part in the movement of refugees organised by Bosnian Serb forces" but was instead helping refugees on the spot "in no matter what part of the enclave." [passage omitted]

The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) was also trying to get food and medical supplies to Tuzla for other refugees from Srebrenica expected to arrive in the Moslem enclave. In a statement issued from Geneva, UNICEF said it was trying to get supplies from its centre in Zenica to Tuzla, mainly for women and children among the 40,000 people there.

Refugees Reach Tuzla, Kladanj

AU1307072495 Paris AFP in English
0706 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 13 (AFP)—Thousands of exhausted and frightened refugees expelled from the Srebrenica enclave by the Bosnian Serbs who blasted their way into the area this week have arrived in government held territory in Bosnia, UN officials said on Thursday. "There are currently 1,400 refugees in Tuzla air base and another 1,000 people in Kladanj," said UN spokesman Alexander Ivanko in Sarajevo. Most of them were women, he added.

Bosnian Serb trucks and buses shipped the people to Kladanj, a government town on the front line between Serb and Bosnian government forces some 50 kilometers (30 miles) east of Srebrenica. Some of them were then driven north to Tulza, the second largest government-held city in the northeast of the country. The airbase is administered by UN peacekeepers.

A relief official said local government leaders are furious that the so-called UN safe area of Srebrenica, ostensibly protected by the peacekeepers, had fallen and that they would have to cope with the refugee influx.

Local sources quoted the refugees as saying men between the ages of 16 years and 50 years had been separated from the women and children. Many were quoted as saying the Serbs "verbally abused them" but they were not beaten. UN officials in Sarajevo said they could not confirm this but added that the Serbs had told peacekeepers that men of fighting age would be taken for "screening" at a nearby Serb town.

Another 30,000 people have massed in and around a UN compound in the north of the Srebrenica enclave Ivanko said. "We have a stable refugee situation at the Potocari UN camp. However, we now have 10,000 people inside the camp and 20,000 outside," he said.

The Potocari UN base is tiny. Approximately 200 peacekeepers were housed there before the Serbs launched their offensive on Srebrenica one week ago. Some reports say there are 88 "sick and wounded" at Potocari, including those injured during the latest battles. Those at Srebrenica hospital at the time of the Serb assault were moved to Kladanj.

General Ratko Mladic the Bosnian Serb Army commander personaly organised the busing out of the population. Dutch peacekeepers escorted the Serb vehicles to ensure they reached Kladanj safely. He was shown on local Bosnian Serb television telling the massed women and children that they would go first.

The move which is likely to continue on Thursday with further expulsions flies in the face of a Security Council demands that the UN safe area of Srebrenica be restored. Radovan Karadzic, the Bosnian Serb leader, said Srebrenica will "never agree to giving Srebrenica the status of a security zone."

The refugee crisis is the worst since the beginning of the war when tens of thousands of mainly Moslem inhabitants in eastern and northern Bosnia were chased from their homes by Bosnian Serb paramilitary units.

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Both Karadzic and Mladic are suspects under investigation for war crimes by the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague.

Potocari Camp Situation 'Critical'

AU1307121895 Paris AFP in English 1158 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Hague, July 13 (AFP)—The refugee camp of Potocari, north of the captured Moslem enclave of Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia, is running out of rations and the situation is becoming critical, a spokesman for crisis headquarters said here Thursday.

Colonel Bert Dedden told a press conference that food for 3,000 refugees inside the camp, 10,000 outside it, and 335 Dutch UN peacekeepers would be used up within the day. Fuel was also running out, he said.

However a 16-vehicle UN convoy had left Zagreb for the camp in Thursday morning transporting food and medicine and was due to arrive later that afternoon.

According to Dedden, on Wednesday night there were 90 seriously wounded people inside the camp. Half of them had been evacuated in the direction of the nearby government-held town of Kladanj, but were not allowed to cross the demarcation line and were currently stuck there, prevented by the Serbs from returning to Potocari.

The commander of the Dutch contingent in Srebrenica, Colonel Ton Karremans, was negotiating their return with Bosnian Serb army chief Ratko Mladic.

Dedden added that evacuation convoys approved by the Bosnian Serbs were leaving for Kladanj escorted by Dutch peacekeepers. He said Karremans had estimated some 5,000 refugees had been evacuated since Wednesday to the final destination of Tuzla.

Within Srebrenica itself, Dutch peacekeepers were still in situ at the "Alpha" observation post and no order had been given for them to leave, Dedden said. Earlier, troops at the "Papa" post had pulled out and rejoined their base in Potocari. Seven or eight other peacekeepers stationed at the "Charley" post southwest of the area were being prevented by government troops from leaving, Dedden said.

With regard to the 48 Dutch soldiers being held hostage by the Serbs, Dedden said 38 of them were in the enclave's Bratunac area. The other 10 were being held at a mine in southern Srebrenica. They were allowed to telephone their families.

Srebrenica's Fall Likely To Spur Attacks on Enclaves

AU1207190295 Paris AFP in English 1817 GMT 12 Jul 95

[Report by Milan Dragovic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 12 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb forces Wednesday [12 July] strengthened their grip on Srebrenica and appeared set to continue with their long-held objective of "cleansing" all the Moslem enclaves of eastern Bosnia.

"What withdrawal from Serb lands? Srebrenica is our land," said Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, ruling out a pullout of his forces from the former UN-declared safe area they had captured Tuesday.

In Belgrade the talk among those close to Bosnian Serbs was of "the capture of Zepa next"—another so-called safe area which has already come under Serb shelling. "The enclaves have to be cleansed and merged into an ethnically pure land," one source said here Wednesday.

And, in an interview with the weekly Yugoslav paper TELEGRAF, Bosnian Serb "foreign minister" Aleksa Buha stated "the ultimate objective is unification with Serbia and the creation of a state uniting all Serb lands."

The feeble reaction of the international community to the fall of Srebrenica and the mass evacuation of its people can only have strengthened Serb generals' resolve, quite apart from the difficulty now of forcing them out of the Moslem enclave.

Karadzic, responding to calls by European countries and the United States to pull out of Srebrenica, simply refused. Speaking in the Bosnian Serb stronghold of Pale, he said: "Why haven't the Croatians withdrawn from western Slavonia?"—a reference to the rebel Serb enclave in eastern Croatia taken by the Croatian Army early May.

"NATO has become the ally of the Moslems for the same reason as the UN which gave the order to bomb Serb military targets in the zone of Srebrenica. But it was ineffective," added Karadzic. "Srebrenica is not a protected zone because a zone is protected when the two parties agree to shelter civilians and agree so there are no attacks. That was not the case in Srebrenica," he added.

He told reporters Bosnian government forces had killed 30 of his men during the last 20 days, adding: "That was a situation we could no longer tolerate." Karadzic said the civilian population could stay or flee the town, drawing a parallel with the case of western Slavonija which he claimed had been emptied of its

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Serb population following the Croatian offensive. "It will be something like western Slavonija but without the massacre of the civilian population. Civilians are safe because our Army is very responsible," he declared.

He also offered Moslems in Gorazde, the biggest safe area in eastern Bosnia, the chance "to accept Serb rule" or to "exchange their property" with Serbs who had stayed in territory still controlled by Moslem forces. Otherwise, he added, "they will lose everything, the same as many Serbs have lost everything, including their lives."

UN officials in Sarajevo admitted that Gorazde and Zepa were vulnerable. "We have limited means and we are not able to defend these people," UN spokesman Alexander Ivanko said.

Earlier Bosnian Serb commander General Ratko Mladic stated the "liberation" of Srebrenica was designed to "bring the Moslem terrorists to their senses...over land the Serb people had been willing to give them. The founding of a united, fundamentalist Bosnia-Herzegovina promised by (Bosnian President) Alija Izetbegovic is no longer a realistic option," he added.

Yugoslav authorities in Belgrade had late Wednesday not given a reaction to the fall of Srebrenica, but Serbian media quoted from an interview with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic in the U.S. weekly magazine TIME in which he said he could not contribute effectively toward the Bosnian peace process as long as Serbia was tied down by UN-imposed sanctions.

Karadzic: Srebrenica Is Not a Protected Zone

LD1207134495 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1239 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Pale, 12 Jul (SRNA)—NATO has become a Muslim ally, the same as the United Nations, which issued an order for air strikes on Serb military targets in the Srebrenica area, Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic told ASSOCIATED PRESS today.

Stressing that the air strikes "served no purpose," Karadzic recalled that the Muslim formations had killed around 30 Serbs from the allegedly demilitarized zone of Srebrenica in the last 20 days.

"We could no longer tolerate that," the Serb Republic president said after attending a church service in Pale on the occasion of St. Peter's Day.

"Srebrenica is not a protected zone; a zone is considered protected when two sides agree that civilians are protected in it and that there will be no attacks from it, which was not the case in this town."

"Why have not the Croats withdrawn from western Slavonia which was occupied by the Croatian Army at the beginning of May and in which there is no longer any Serb population?" Karadzic said, noting that, unlike in that area, no massacre against civilians was perpetrated in Srebenica.

"They can decide whether they want to go or stay," the president said, adding that this also refers to the Dutch Blue Helmets.

Western Serbs Now 'Free'

LD1207202095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2015 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 12 Jul (SRNA)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb republic, said at today's celebration of the fifth anniversary of the Serb Democratic Party of Serb Lands [SDS SZ] and St. Peter's Day that "western Serbs are today for the first time in centuries free people, the people who have rejected fear and found strength to walk tall. More has been done in these last five years than in the previous 25 or indeed in the past centuries," said Karadzic, adding that "our enemy, although we have grown accustomed to bearing the burden of his presence, has pushed us in the direction of creating a Serb state, a state which will extend wherever there are Serbs and Serb churches."

Speaking about the brief but fruitful work of the party, the president of the Serb Republic stressed that "the original purpose of founding the party was to protect the Serb people from the ustasha knife since, if truth be told, few dared at the time to even think about the creation of a single Serb state."

"It is certain these these results would never have been achieved had it not been for the support from the Serbian Orthodox Church, which throughout the centuries managed to preserve the traditional values of the Serb people," President Karadzic said, adding that he is "overjoyed to see that there were far fewer among the Serbs who stood in the way of achieving these goals, than the ones who supported them."

The celebration held to mark the fifth anniversary of the SDS SZ and St. Peter's Day was also attended by representatives of many parties from Serbia and Montenegro, whom the president of the Serb Republic thanked for support in the just struggle of the Serb people west of the Drina.

President Karadzic also announced that the assembly of the SDS SZ will be held on Friday 21 July.

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Blames U.S. for Destabilization

AU1207202995 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jul 95 p 4

[Report by M. Miljkovic from Sofia: "There Are No Concessions in Bosnia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Last night, at prime time, the first channel of Bulgarian national television ran an interview with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic within a report on war horrors in that former Yugoslav republic.

The leader of the Bosnian Serbs blamed the United States for the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the escalation of the conflagration in Bosnia. According to him, Washington, with its two allies, Germany and Turkey, is directly responsible for the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the destabilization of the Balkans.

Clinton's policy only represents the continuation of the previous U.S. Administration's policy, Karadzic said.

According to Karadzic, the withdrawal of the Blue Helmets would lead to an escalation of the fighting in which Alija's [Bosnia-Herzegovina President Izetbegovic] fundamentalist army and his policy of creating a state based on Islamic principles would be defeated absolutely very quickly.

The leader of the Bosnian Serbs stressed in the interview with a BNT [Bulgarian National Television] journalist that the Serbs have nothing against the Muslims creating their own state, but not on someone else's, and especially not on Serb, territory. The Serbs in Bosnia control 64 percent of the territory and do not intend to make territorial concessions.

Asked whether members of the international peace forces will again be taken hostage in the event of NATO air strikes, Karadzic stressed that NATO is a formidable force and that Serb fighters have no other choice but to put up even fiercer resistance. Karadzic did not say anything with regard to the Blue Helmets being taken hostage, except that if NATO members side with the opponent, the Serbs will consider them the enemy.

The report contained footage from the ground showing arms captured from Green Berets [as published]. Despite the embargo on the delivery of arms to the Muslim fighters, Alija's fighters are armed to the teeth with weapons from many countries. The viewers were able to see weapons from the United States, Russia, Germany, Turkey, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Britain, France, and China.

The claims about the participation of mercenaries in the Serb ranks were denied in the program. Fighters from Russia, Ukraine, Romania, and Bulgaria are fighting shoulder to shoulder with Serb fighters and 35 German marks a month cannot be a motive for fighting. The real motive for their presence in the Bosnian mountains is the feeling of helping Orthodox brothers in need.

Insists on Situation Recognition

LD1307084195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 12 Jul (SRNA)—Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic said this evening that the international community should speed up the conference on former Bosnia-Herzegovina and abolish the sanctions against the Serb people, because otherwise the Serbs will be "less flexible."

"We will insist on the actual situation on the ground being recognized, because the international community has pushed us to assume this position by its latest actions," the Serb Republic president said in an interview for the Serb television central evening news bulletin.

Commenting on the international community's threats that it will use force to restore the status of Srebrenica to what it was before its liberation, the Serb Republic president said the Serbs will defend themselves if attacked, and he recalled that the Serb Republic has never made any decisions when being pressurized.

"Threats do not bother us. The international community is thus only exacerbating the current situation," Karadzic said, noting that threats and pressure have only prolonged the war in former Bosnia.

In his mind the reintroduction of safe areas by force is out of the question, "because this will mean an open war with the Serbs."

With regard to the increasingly open announcements by the international community that the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] will withdraw from the former Bosnia, President Karadzic said that this would nevertheless not happen, to the joy of the Muslims.

"The Serbs are not interested in UNPROFOR remaining, but they will not demand its departure either. If we get closer to a political settlement, we believe a certain number of UNPROFOR members will be needed for its implementation," President Karadzic explained.

"However, the Muslim actions are making it obvious that a military solution will take place in former Bosnia, and that the Muslims will lose everything," the Serb Republic president stressed.

Asked about his assessment of the current military situation in former Bosnia, Karadzic said the Muslim offensive against the Serb Republic borders "have completely collapsed."

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"If the Muslims in Sarajevo knew how many young men were killed on the surrounding mountains in an attempt to push trough the Serb lines, they would not waste a second and would ask to meet us and agree on ending the war," the Serb Republic president concluded.

Says UNPROFOR Prolonging War

AU1307111095 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 12 Jul 95

[Interview with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic by Ljubomir Ljubojevic in an unidentified television studio—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Ljubojevic] Mr. President, tell us the latest about Srebrenica.

[Karadzic] You are right, Srebrenica is the breaking news, but it should also be viewed as an example of the superiority of the Serb weapons and the Serb Army, as well as Serb kindness. UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] has been present there all the while. We have given them a chance to protect those civilians if they think it is necessary, to have an insight into what is going on. There are no civilian casualties. Order has been restored since the fighting ended. Our army is enabling our civilian authorities to become established there, for the Serbs were exiled from Srebrenica at the beginning of the war and those Serbs from the neighboring villages are now coming back. Authorities already exist there, they were appointed before; the municipal assembly, Serb authorities. Now the situation is returning to normal and some refugees want to leave the area. An overwhelming majority of those refugees said they wanted to go to Tuzla. Some of them will probably want to go to Abdic [as heard] and we are absolutely prepared to let them go, as we signed an agreement that every citizen has the right to choose where he or she will live, although we think they do not have to leave and should not leave. One thing is certain, this area will never again be a stronghold of terrorists. Never again will there be any armed people except for the police. If they want to accept the authority of the Serb Republic, to be citizens of the Serb Republic, they do not have to leave. However, it turned out that most of them want to leave and they are mostly going to Tuzla.

[Ljubojevic] On the other hand, foreign media say that the humanitarian situation in Srebrenica is quite bad. Mr. President, what is your information about the humanitarian situation in this town?

[Karadzic] First, it was never bad, because they always talked about 60,000 inhabitants, increasing the real figure by at least two or three times, and this is why they were given large amounts of food that they also distributed to their army, which fought against us. This was the cause of strained relations between our Army, UNPROFOR, and the UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees], because we knew what they were doing with the food. Second, our Refugee Commission, as you see, delivered some aid as well. You see that they all look well, that they are not hungry, that there are no problems. If you compare this situation with what happened in Western Slavonia, where the Croats were allegedly liberating the area, there is such a world of difference between the two that we cannot here talk about war at all. We are simply caring for the population here and, of course, those who want can stay here. The humanitarian situation is under the control of our authorities and we will not allow the civilians to suffer. We will share what we have with them, for they are a nation. They could decide to become our citizens. In short, Muslim civilians were never our enemy, our opponent. We have never fought against them. Nothing has changed about that.

[Ljubojevic] The Muslim officials, Izetbegovic and Silajdzic, appeared confused today. They are again pointing their fingers at the United Nations and Yasushi Akashi as the epitome of UN indecision, demanding that the United Nations and NATO restore the status of a safe zone for Srebrenica.

[Karadzic] Only we can give that status back to Srebrenica. Only now can it be a safe zone, for all those who remain in Srebrenica, as well as those who come back, i.e. the Serbs, will be safe there. Nobody was safe there before. International military law says that a safe zone is a zone created out of an agreement between two armies, two warring sides, that drew its borders and signed an agreement that the zone will contain no soldiers and no weapons, that the zone will only accommodate civilians, and that they will enjoy the protection of both sides. That was not the case. No protected zone was demilitarized. Even Mr. Butrus-Ghali said that protected zones were military strongholds for operations against Serb territory and the Serb nation. We must put an end to that! We must put an end to that in Bihac, Tuzla, Srebrenica, Zepa, Gorazde, and Sarajevo. All six zones must stop acting as [word indistinct] for attacking Serb territory, torching Serb villages, and killing Serb civilians.

Nobody could force us to restore the status of Srebrenica while it was a stronghold of the Muslim army. That is out of the question! This is a war and we are one of the warring parties. The United Nations must never be one of the warring sides. If they become one, that will be an open war against the Serbs and we will be forced to defend ourselves. I would like to remind the entire international community of a hypocrisy: Whenever Muslim forces advance through

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Serb territory from those protected zones, from Bihac, Tuzla, Sarajevo, even from Gorazde, the entire world applauds. And when the Serbs launch a counteroffensive and neutralize its opponent, the world starts wailing and lamenting the loss. You see that Muslim civilians did not lose anything. It is the Muslim army that lost. My message to the international community is that they should step up the pace of the conference, for the longer the war lasts, the less flexible we, the Serbs, will be. We were most flexible at the Lisbon conference before the war. As the days pass, we are less and less able to return any part of the territory, and the situation on the ground will play the main role. Consequently, it would be better to quicken the pace of the conference, lift the sanctions imposed on Yugoslavia, include us in the negotiations on equal terms, and solve the crisis, instead of becoming actively involved against the Serb Army, the Serb people, and against the Serb Republic in their political games.

[Ljubojevic] Speaking about the relations of the Muslim side with the members of the United Nations, our next news item is a case in point. On Tuesday, the residence of the United Nations that is also the office of Rupert Smith, the UN commander for former Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the Muslim part of Sarajevo was broken into. You talked about the abuse of protected zones and the UN Security Council is considering a resolution on the use of force to restore the status quo in Srebrenica. What is your view on those latest threats of the use of NATO air force in the region?

[Karadzic] You see, UNPROFOR saved the Muslim army and the Muslim state from total defeat. They never helped the Serbs. They only helped the Muslims. And the Muslims are ungrateful. They would have been defeated long ago had there not been for UNPROFOR. This may sound paradoxical, but the presence of UNPROFOR in this region has actually prolonged the war. If UNPROFOR were not here, the Serbs would end this war. I am afraid that this war will not end otherwise and that the Serb will win, that they will win all the way, although we wanted to secede, not to defeat them and include them in our state. After all, all of Bosnia once belonged to the Serbs and it could happen that all of Bosnia will return to Yugoslavia. However, UNPROFOR did quite a few good things regarding the humanitarian situation, again in favor of the Muslims. In other words, the Muslims benefited from the presence of UNPROFOR in the region.

Regarding threats, we think that it is tactless and improper of the international community to issue threats, for this war was imposed on us and we fight it in the way it was imposed on us. Threats mean nothing to us. We must protect ourselves if the Muslims attack us. If NATO attacks us, we must protect ourselves. Simply, threats will not produce any effect because none of our political or military decisions were made under coercion, but solely as we saw fit, in the interests of the Serb nation, while those were actually extorted solutions on the whole, extorted by the international community and our opponents. We were actually forced to launch all our counteroffensives. All our counteroffensives were actually extorted, for they were created in response to Muslim offensives. We will not respond to threats. We will simply disregard all threats. We think that the international community is only making things worse by issuing threats and acting against the Serbs. The international community has really done too much for the Muslims. Too much. The international community should be pleased regarding that but, as I said, it is paradoxical that, by doing so, the international community has actually prolonged the war. By making those threats, the international community raises the Muslims' hope that they will be the masters of all of Bosnia. And it is clear that it will never happen.

[Ljubojevic] Speaking about that, do you have any information about the situation in the second allegedly safe zone of Zepa?

[Karadzic] You see, we are not in Zepa, but they come out of Zepa to steal large cattle herds that our people keep for food to feed our villages in Podzeplje and Han Pijesak. But we could forgive them that if it were not for the fact that they are sneaking out of Zepa to kill our people. We propose to make an agreement with the Zepa Muslims to surrender their weapons, not necessarily to us, they can give them to UNPROFOR, to accept our authorities. We will make Zepa a safe zone. The same holds for Gorazde and Sarajevo. As long as we die from their bullets, we will consider those zones dangerous strongholds of the Muslim army and treat them accordingly.

[Ljubojevic] As we can see, the world is again offering force as a possible solution. Mr. President, what does the Serb side offer?

[Karadzic] The Serb side does not offer force. The Serb side offers the Muslims, those in Zepa and Gorazde, first of all, the choice to contact the Serb authorities in the zones as soon as possible, for we do have authorities there in Rogatica and in the Serb municipality of Gorazde, and to arrange our relations as soon as possible, to accept normal life. That will normalize their supplies, their life, their freedom of movement. After all, if they want to leave, they can exchange their property, so that they do not lose it all. If they continue to keep an army in Zepa and Gorazde,

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that will be a great problem and we will no longer be willing to make any agreements.

Regarding the forceful reinstatement of safe zones, that is absolutely out of the question, because that would mean an open war against the Serbs. On the other hand, the United Nations is responsible for not making those zones into safe zones, for not demilitarizing them, for not collecting all weapons and turning the army into unarmed civilians. I think UNPROFOR will stay, to the benefit of the Muslims, of course. The retention of UNPROFOR is not in the interest of the Serbs, but they will not demand that it leaves, because if we get closer to a political solution, a certain number of soldiers will be needed to implement that solution. However, the way Muslims have been going, it seems to me that the outcome will be a war and that the Muslims will lose everything. Of course, those in Zepa and Gorazde will also lose everything because of very bad leadership, both in politics and military action, for their entire political leadership is very shortsighted. They were shortsighted when they were seceding from Yugoslavia. We could have even arranged for Herzeg-Bosnia to secede from Bosnia-Herzegovina and for the rest of Bosnia-Herzegovina to remain in Yugoslavia, as Zulfikarpasic proposed to the Muslims. We would have avoided the war if they had accepted that, and the Muslims would be together with the Muslims in Sandzak, Kosovo, Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], together in one state. Instead, they brought us misery by attacking us and we all suffer because of the war. I appeal to the Sarajevo Muslims, if they knew how many of their young men lost their lives on the neighboring mountains trying to change the Serb defense lines, they would not waste a moment; they would ask to meet us to establish a safe zone in Sarajevo, but in the right way, to agree on what authorities we would have in Sarajevo and to put an end to this war.

[Ljubojevic] Let me just ask you to briefly comment on the situation on other fronts.

[Karadzic] You see, I think this is the fifth week of the offensive on Sarajevo, or the end of the fourth week. This offensive was disastrous for the Muslims. They did have some initial success on Treskavica, but we changed that. They had some initial success toward Trnovo, which we changed and keep on changing. To the northwest of Sarajevo, from Brezovaca, from Hadzici via Ilijas, all the way to the Niksic plateau, they were not successful except for an hour or two at a time, when our tactics let them into fire pockets and then destroyed their manpower. Their offensive collapsed and we became less flexible, for we can no longer talk about exchanging territories if our men die. On the other hand, their offensive on Majevica fell through. They did have another minor push, but we eliminated that. The same goes for Bihac, Teslic, Ozren, Vozuca, etc. This is where Muslim young men are dying and where they are losing a great number of soldiers. I do not know what this nation will have left if all of their best young people die. As you know, the Croatian Army is attacking us on Dinara and on Golija, i.e. toward Staretina, and we are resisting successfully. We are now concentrating on this area, and this is where we will do a very important job. But the moment we decide to launch a counteroffensive, the Muslims will feel that and the international community will lament. I pity the nation that must be defended by others. I pity the Muslims who are defended by somebody else. They should be defended by their neighbors, by the Serbs, and the Serbs are their closest neighbor. The Muslims have a saying that a neighbor is closer than a brother. It turned out that their distant brothers are much closer than we, their neighbors, and you can see what happened.

[Ljubojevic] Mr. President, thank you for the detailed information.

[Karadzic] Thank you.

Muslims 'Look Well Fed'

LD1207230095 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2145 GMT 12 Jul 95

[Interview with Bosnian Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic by an unidentified correspondent; place and date not given; from the "Slikom na Sliku" program—rebroadcast of Pale television report]

[FBIS Translated Text] The world media manipulate the facts about how the humanitarian situation in Srebrenica is very difficult. Mr. President, what is your information about the humanitarian situation in this town?

[Karadzic] First of all, it was never serious, because they always depicted a population of 60,000, they exaggerated it by at least two or three times, and that is why they received large quantities of food which they also gave to their soldiers who were fighting against us. This was the source of frequent tensions between our Army and the UN Protection Force and the UNHCR because we knew that they were manipulating the food question.

Second, our Commission for Refugees, as you have seen, has once again come to the rescue. You have seen that the people look well fed, that there are no problems, and I would like to say that if you compared what happened in western Slavonia, where the Croats were supposedly liberating, and what is happening in Srebrenica where the Serbs are liberating, the difference

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is so great that you would hardly call it war at all. Here the population is being taken care of and of course, if they wish they can stay. The humanitarian situation is under the control of our authorities and we will certainly not allow the civilians there to suffer anything because we will share what we have with them, because they are ordinary people, they can decide to be our citizens, and the Muslim civilians will never be our enemies, our opponents. We have never fought against them, and the same thing applies this time.

Serb Official: Srebrenica Situation 'Normal'

LD1207135195 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1213 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 12 Jul (TANJUG)—For the first time since the war began in this region, the UNHCR [United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees] has brought aid to the Serb Republic at the same time as NATO planes are attacking Serb positions, Dragan Kekic, the Serb Republic's deputy commissioner for refugees, told TANJUG today. [passage omitted]

After the Serb forces entered Srebrenica, the office of the Serb Republic's Commission for Refugees in Vlasenica [near Srebrenica] sent urgent aid to the Muslim population.

"The necessary quantities of food, 2,000 blankets, and 1,500 mattresses were given to the civilian population of Srebrenica today. The situation in the town is normal,there are no problems, cooperation with UNPROFOR in providing aid for the population is very good. The commission's inspectors for the protection of refugee rights are also on their way to Srebrenica," Kekic said.

According to him, the Commission for Refugees of the Serb republic and the UNHCR's office in Belgrade have agreed to continue providing aid jointly to the people in need, both Serb and Muslim. One UNHCR convoy has already left Belgrade for Srebrenica today.

Mladic Commends Troops, Comments on Seizure

AU1207182195 Prijedor Srpski Radio Prijedor Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] After the liberation of Srebrenica, Lt. Gen. Ratko Mladic, commander of the Serb Republic Army General Staff, first commended all soldiers who endured fierce offensives of Muslim-Croat forces and forces of the Croatian regular army on the territory of former Bosnia-Herzegovina defending the Serb Republic. Those were acts of heroism, added Gen. Mladic, particularly praising the soldiers and officers of the Sarajevo-Romanija, Drina, and Herzegovina Corps.

The General Staff commander said that one should praise all members of the Drina Corps in particular, as they thwarted the Muslim offensive in an irresistible push and then liberated Srebrenica in a fierce response.

Speaking about the reasons for liberating Srebrenica, Lt. Gen. Ratko Mladic said the following:

[Mladic] In this war, Islamic fundamentalists have committed a terrible reign of terror over the Serb population in Srebrenica and neighboring municipalities. That is a terrible sight—torched villages, [word indistinct] families. They did so much evil here. They did not act in accordance with the agreement on the demilitarization of the Srebrenica enclave signed in April and May 1993, and, encouraged probably by [words indistinct] of Alija's fundamentalists and his informers, they carried out subversive operations and missions outside the demilitarized zones to commit evil against the Serb population. A couple of days ago, they entered the villages of Banja Lucica and Visnjica committing a heinous crime against the Serb population in the area.

I must point out that the goal of the Serb Republic Army operation in this area is not to kill innocent Muslim civilians or UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force]. Our only goal is to bring Alija's terrorists to their senses, to stop their terrorism on the territory assigned to them by the goodwill of the people and the Serb Republic. However, encouraged, probably, by militant statements and NATO support, they did all they could to help their forces fighting to open the Sarajevo enclave. And they probably thought they would establish the territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina based on Islam, as Alija and his followers promised.

Serb Army Guarantees Safety to All Refugees

LD1207170295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1607 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 12 Jul (TANJUG)—The information service of the Serb Republic Army's General Staff has announced that a meeting was held in Srebrenica today between representatives of the Serb Republic Army and former civil authorities of this town in the presence of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR], in order to try and resolve the problem of Muslim refugees.

According to the statement, the Serb side guarantees total safety to all those situated in the nearby collection center in Potocari, as well as to members of Muslim armed formations if these surrender their weapons and give themselves up.

Operational teams are being set up by both the Serb and Muslim sides to resolve the problem of Muslim

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refugees. These teams will have meetings with assistance from UNPROFOR, the statement adds.

The Muslim side asked that the civilian refugees from Srebrenica be transferred to a territory under Muslim control as soon as possible.

UNPROFOR representatives promised to keep in contact with their command and with international humanitarian organizations to ensure the supplies of food and other essentials, including means of transport for the Srebrenica Muslims.

Muslim representatives appealed to the remaining members of the Muslim armed formations to surrender to the UNPROFOR base in Potocari, since their safety has been guaranteed by top-level Serb Republic Army representatives on condition that they also surrendered their weapons and military hardware, according to the statement.

UNPROFOR 'Safe'

LD1207133295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1255 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 12 July (TANJUG)—According to a statement issued by the press center of the main headquarters of the Serb Republic Army, the units of the Serb Republic Army units have successfully continued "to put Muslim terrorists out of action in the areas of Srebrenica and Potocari."

The local population has expressed its readiness to cooperate with the Serb Republic Army, the statement says and reiterates that UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] troops are completely safe. [passage omitted]

Serb Socialist Party: Security Council Responsible

AU1207193295 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In light of the increasingly frequent NATO bombing of Serb positions and the current situation around Srebrenica, the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of the Serb Republic has issued a statement in which it condemns most energetically the (?latest) bombing of the Serb positions by NATO and protests against the hypocritical behavior of the United Nations, which, according to the statement, after the adventure involving UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] hostages, gave firm guarantees that there would be no more air strikes.

By inertia, the international community has again condemned for the umpteenth time since the beginning of the civil war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina only the Serb side, even when it is obvious that the Muslims had provoked the Serbs to respond.

The Security Council is responsible for the so-called protected zones never being demilitarized, from which the Muslims regularly conduct military and sabotage actions against neighboring Serb territories in which civilian population suffered most. The aim of this is to provoke a military response by the Serbs, which would then be followed, according to the establish recipe, by the condemnation of the international community and NATO military actions.

This is what happened in Gorazde, Sarajevo, Zepa, Bihac, and now in Srebrenica. The Security Council and the international community have thus far never punished the Muslim government in Sarajevo nor the Republic of Croatia for the crimes against the Serb civilian population. They were only mildly warned and verbally condemned. In this way, they only encouraged and incited the Muslim and Croat authorities to continue the war and pushed the most moderate Serbs toward radicalism.

This is why we appeal to major powers, members of the Contact Group, the UN Security Council, the EU, and other forums that are taking part in the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis in the former Yugoslavia, in the name of principles to which they swear, to immediately introduce a moratorium on all military activities of the warring parties and in this way stop mutual extermination, and to create conditions for all three peoples to elect legitimate representatives who would arrive at a just and lasting peace through negotiations, which is the principal interest of all three peoples, the statement issued by the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of the Serb Republic points out.

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Bosnia-Herzegovina Envoy Interviewed About Events

95BA0281B Zagreb HRVATSKI OBZOR in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jun 95 pp 11-13

[Interview with Dr. Kasim Trnka, ambassador of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina to the Republic of Croatia, by Goran Rosic; place and date not given: "The United States, Russia, and Europe Are Competing in Bosnia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Rosic] Mr. Trnka, can it be said in general that the situation in and around Bosnia-Herzegovina is the same as it was three or four months ago?

[Trnka] Perhaps at first glance it might be said that the situation is worse now and a worsening trend is evident, because an apparent truce was in effect three months ago, although it was never real. That is, the offensive against Bihac never ceased, and incidents occurred every day around Sarajevo and other protected zones. Yet the informed observer might say that the situation has deteriorated because the cease-fire has expired. But that is not the point. The intention of those who advocated extension of the cease-fire and continued refusal to accept the plan of the Contact Group was to freeze the status quo, to maintain the status quo.

[Rosic] The status quo is not acceptable to Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Trnka] Of course not; two-thirds of the country are occupied. It should also be borne in mind that the entire world community has reached consensus on the plan of the Contact Group as a solution to the crisis in Bihac, and only Radovan Karadzic does not accept it. At this point, an interesting situation is coming about. That plan is being forgotten by the media, and less and less pressure is being put on Karadzic's Serbs to accept it as the basis for possible further negotiations. From here on, Karadzic is being placed in relative diplomatic isolation, but he has been breaking through that isolation with outright terrorism. He has even been managing to capitalize on that terrorism with the promise from Butrus-Ghali and Akashi that there will be no more air strikes. If the world continues to reward his terrorism, I do not know what the train of events will be.

[Rosic] What can be expected?

[Trnka] Unless peace efforts and initiatives yield results, there will be nothing left for us except a further struggle to remove the arms embargo and strengthen cooperation between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and among the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the HVO [Croatian Defense Council], and the HV [Croatian Army]. So, we will have to try to do what we can on our own.

[Rosic] Milosevic has accepted the plan of the Contact Group, which defines Bosnia-Herzegovina as a union of two entities, but in recent negotiations with Frasier, as a concession for recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina, he asked for compensation in the form of recognition of his new Yugoslavia as the successor of the SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]. When we know that under that plan Karadzic's Serbs can enter into a confederal relationship with the so-called FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], is Milosevic, then, not demanding indirectly recognition for Karadzic's quasi-state?

[Trnka] That confederal relation was not envisaged by that plan or in the character of the union. That was launched by the Serbian media.

[Rosic] But what if Milosevic, Karadzic, and Karadzic's Serbs should demand that confederal relationship?

[Trnka] Milosevic is managing to impose himself on the world as a peacemaker. It is of interest that he wants to sell that alleged concession of his in the form of recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina at a very high price.

[Rosic] What is that price?

[Trnka] To the general public, his demand that the so-called FRY be the sole successor of the SFRY seems an ephemeral problem. But that is the key demand, because, if he is satisfied in that regard, then the consequences would be disastrous for all of us. First, the independence of the republics would be deemed illegal, and that would mean recognition of the right of the former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] to prevent secession. Serbia and Montenegro could thereby no longer be treated as aggressors and we as victims. In addition, the demand for payment of war damages by the so-called FRY could not be advanced, because the division into aggressor and victim would be lost. This is a fact that must be noted in connection with the issue of succession is this. Attempts have sometimes been made through the administration of the United Nations to use certain allegedly small and incidental documents dating from 1955, 1966, and so on, to prove that the so-called FRY is the sole successor of the former state. In this regard, the representatives of Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], and Bosnia-Herzegovina have acted in concert in the United Nations when we protested and demanded that those documents be withdrawn, because that would be laying a cuckoo egg in the United Nations. A few precedents like those for the so-called FRY would make it easier to succeed with the argument on succession, which suits it. Therefore, in keeping with the Vienna Convention on Succession of States and the opinion of the Badinter Commission,

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which unambiguously concluded that the SFRY had disintegrated, i.e., that it was a question of dissolution, not secession, there must be unceasing insistence on settlement of this issue.

[Rosic] Let us go back to the question of recognition. What does Milosevic gain if Karadzic's quasi-state is not able to form a confederation with the so-called FRY?

[Trnka] He wins a great many points with the international community.

[Rosic] But the essential thing for him is territory, which is why he has been waging war and is still waging war, but now with a different "weapon." Do you agree that he has not abandoned the idea of an "expanded Serbia"?

[Trnka] He would not give up on that idea, even if he recognized Bosnia-Herzegovina. With recognition, he would join the mainstream of 96 of the world's nations that have recognized Bosnia-Herzegovina. In that acquired role of peacemaker, he would continue by maintaining the status quo to win rights for the Serbian entity to which it is not entitled.

[Rosic] If I have understood you correctly, the view of the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina is not to grant the Serbian entity the right of any kind of linkage to the so-called FRY?

[Trnka] There can be no question of that. It should also be said that no parallel whatsoever can be draw between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, and the Serbian entity and Serbia. There are several reasons. For example, Croatia was among the first to recognize Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the forces of the HVO are in a defensive posture, together with the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina toward the Serbian aggressor. We have been defending Bosnia-Herzegovina together. On the other hand, Serbia does not recognize Bosnia-Herzegovina, it does not recognize elementary human rights in its own entities where ethnic minorities live, and so forth. What is more, if it were allowed, that would, in practice, recognize the results of aggression, and that contradicts the conclusions of the London Conference in August 1992.

[Rosic] Following the Milosevic-Filipovic negotiations, tension and fear arose in the Croatian public that an agreement detrimental to Croatia was being struck, i.e., that Milosevic was attempting to draw Bosnia-Herzegovina into a new Yugoslavia. Could you comment on that?

[Trnka] It does not surprise us that Croatia has its office in Belgrade, nor that the so-called FRY has its office in Zagreb. Contacts between Zagreb and Belgrade exist at all levels, and they should exist if this is in the interest of peace. I therefore see no reason for tension in the Croatian public when even Bosnia-Herzegovina has made contacts with that kind of objective. But that contact did not yield any results. That is, what happened was that Milosevic conducted that conversation in order to make use of it for his own purposes. We are not in such a hurry for Belgrade recognition at any price.

[Rosic] Are there still contacts?

[Trnka] No. Discussion is only through the Contact Group as an intermediary.

[Rosic] Certain world factors are persistently taking part in the creation of some new community on the space of the former state. We learned the other day about talks between the Sarajevo opposition and the so-called Pale opposition, whose conclusions are consistent with that idea. What do you think about that?

[Trnka] I was not aware of that, and as far as I know there is no opposition whatsoever in Pale.

[Rosic] Sejfudin Tokic led a delegation of the Union of Social Democrats of Bosnia-Herzegovina to Perugia, and representatives of the Serbian Civil Council [SGV] were also there. The delegation from Pale was headed by Dodik.

[Trnka] Tokic is not a politician of any influence at all in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that Dodik could not have done anything even in their so-called Assembly in spite of strong support from Milosevic. In the end, he bent his head and inclined toward Karadzic's model.

[Rosic] But Mirko Pejanovic, member of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, gave open support to that meeting. How do you explain that?

[Trnka] That is his opinion. Why should people not be able to have differing opinions? In the end, he is trying to put the interests of the Serbian people into a systematic framework, but how successful he is in that and whether this should be done in a different way than it is being done with the SGV is another question. In my opinion, it would be more logical for them to organize as a political party that would compete for power and thus fight legitimately for the interests of the Serbian people. That would show the world public that Karadzic is not the only representative of that people. But there is no real prospect for any arrangements to be made with Karadzic and the so-called FRY, because they have been threatening that they would completely destroy the Bosnian Muslims even after so many people have been killed and displaced. They advocate destruction of

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the Bosnian Muslims, and there can be no community whatsoever with such people.

[Rosic] So, there are no longer any negotiations whatsoever with Karadzic?

[Trnka] No. That is our general position. We are doing everything to keep him in isolation, and we are angry at the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces], which, in spite of the world agreement not to talk to him, has established contact with him.

[Rosic] A new ambassador of the United States in Bosnia-Herzegovina has been appointed. This is Mr. Mensis, who has always openly advocated contact with Karadzic. Do you expect in keeping with that appointment that there will be greater pressure of the United States on the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina to nevertheless negotiate with Karadzic?

[Trnka] I think that this does not depend on one man alone. It is above all a question of the domestic view of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the United States. Here I am thinking above all of the relationship in Congress and public opinion.

[Rosic] U.S. policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina can be described as blowing "hot and cold." It now seems that it has turned over the problem of solving the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina to the European Union. Do you agree with that observation?

[Trnka] Bosnia-Herzegovina is the litmus paper test used to measure relations between the United States and Russia and then also with Europe. It always looks to see whether it pays for the United States to confront Russia over Bosnia-Herzegovina. When it finds that it does not pay, then it is a European problem, and vice versa.

[Rosic] The embargo has not been removed. Mr. Ganic judges that the battle for its removal nevertheless has been won. How do you expect that this could come about?

[Trnka] First of all, I think that the remarks are unfounded that removal of the embargo would escalate the conflict and expand the war outside Bosnia-Herzegovina. The decision itself would have a large psychological impact, because it would put the positions of the aggressor and victim into balance, and then serious political negotiations would really begin. Then Karadzic would immediately accept the plan of the Contact Group and begin to negotiate with that as the basis. That is why we proposed that the embargo be lifted, but that the decision not take effect for six months. Even if it were made now, it could not be carried out from the technical standpoint. That is, one has to physically obtain the weapons and train people to handle the weapons. What is more, the world would in that way get out of the vicious cycle of incapacity that it is in now.

[Rosic] What is your comment on Butrus-Ghali's proposal for a new peace conference?

[Trnka] It is unacceptable to us because this pushes the plan of the Contact Group completely into the shadows. If we lose it to one side and begin new negotiations, in which the initial positions, participants, and guarantees would be completely unclear, then that would mean that we have not waged war for three and a half years at all, and no one cares, and so everything starts over from the beginning. We are first calling for acceptance and implementation of the plan, and then we are ready for any new conference.

[Rosic] In recent months the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina has been recording great success in Vlasic, Majevica, Ozren, Treskavica, and near Bihac. Then there are also the most recent successes of the HVO on Mt. Dinara and near Glamoc. Because the peace efforts are not yielding results, can it be said that the defensive warfare up to now is slowly being transformed into a war of liberation?

[Trnka] It is the position of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Croatia supports this, that arrival of the rapid intervention forces is an occasion to reassess the relations agreed upon with those forces. It is in our interest that they come and implement the resolutions of the Security Council that pertain to protection of the safe havens, passability of the roads, opening the Butmir Airport, and so on. If that is done, then they are welcome, but if that is not the case, then there is no reason whatsoever for us not to do what we have begun in the military area. It should be emphasized in this connection that the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the HVO are no longer structures with a low level of organization, but solid armies in which organization and discipline prevail, and this is yielding significant results. At the same time, the spirit of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the confederation is showing its advantages, and I think that the victims of aggression have already shown how much could be done by joint efforts in all areas.

[Rosic] The Bonn and Mostar Agreements, it seems, following a year of insignificant progress in building the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, are an authentic guarantee that that project will truly take on life. Deadlines have finally been established, and international arbitration has been provided, but it is disturbing that the beginning of the return of people to their homes is not in sight. Could you comment on that?

[Trnka] That is the key issue. There is no Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina without people, but unfor-

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tunately a large portion of the population is in exile. Even those who are in Bosnia-Herzegovina have largely been moved from their homes. A large-scale process is needed to attempt to restore that ethnic structure that existed in the 1991 population census. There are two principles on which the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina is founded: extension of the legality of the government agencies democratically elected and restoring the ethnic structure that existed before. Implementing the Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina is a key moment at which opstina, canton, and federal bodies should be officially constituted according to constitutional principles guaranteeing proportional representation, and wherever necessary, parity representation. To go further, we need to guarantee full equality of nationalities and citizens over the entire territory of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, including creation of a police that would be made up according to the ethnic proportions in the 1991 census. All this should bring about conditions for people to return. So that there is no confusion, I want to emphasize that everyone must return to his home. There must be no manipulations on the order of one for one and the like. In the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, room should be found even for those who cannot go back to their homes, because they are under Serbian occupation, but this should be solved in such a way as not to jeopardize the balance of ethnic relations.

[Rosic] Problems are arising in formation of opstinas?

[Trnka] There is a legitimate right to demand restructuring of the borders of opstinas, but the public is interpreting this erroneously that this is part of the Washington Agreement and prior formation of opstinas is a precondition for it. On the contrary, it calls for retaining the existing opstina in forming transitional government bodies. Only afterward does it foresee formation of opstinas according to criteria already set down in the Assembly of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The question of the point of departure for formation of new opstinas is a mirror of how the federation is viewed. If it is seen as an expression of an opportunity for life together and a multinational and multicultural community, and if the opstinas are formed in that context, then the ethnic equality of every individual as a member of a nationality and of the entity of ethnic collectivities will be guaranteed. Otherwise, if ethnic territory is insisted on, then there will be many problems because the population is so intermixed.

[Rosic] Do you share the opinion that Mostar is a place where all the constitutional modalities of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina must first be established?

[Trnka] Yes, but the question is to what extent do we really need an international factor? Fortunately, our mutual trust is not at such a low level. After all, we have the mechanisms for solving all the problems, and they have been provided for in the Constitution. If it is a legal problem, then it will be settled by the Constitutional Court of the federation, and if it is political, then we have the government and the Assembly. But, if that does not work, we must call in an international arbiter. That is why the Mostar Agreement calls for mediators Owen and Schilling: One is for legal matters, and the other for political matters.

[Rosic] There have also been important disagreements in establishing the mechanisms for doing away with the existing government structures, and the question of the superiority of the Republic over the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina is also related to that problem.

[Trnka] The Constitution defines very precisely the process of establishing the institutions of the federation, and thereby also the disappearance of the so-called administrative arrangements, which above all have to do with Herzeg-Bosnia, because realistically this is the actual situation and the actual government, and no vacuum can be allowed to occur from the transition from that government to the government of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Powers must be gradually transferred. Likewise, the Republic must not encroach upon the powers of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but there is no basis whatsoever for the comparison that the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Herzeg-Bosnia must disappear simultaneously. The Republic cannot cease to exist with respect to powers concerning international statehood and protection of the territorial integrity of the entire state of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Here, the Republic will figure as an independent entity until the peace process is completed.

[Rosic] What in that context is the meaning of the demand of the SDA [Democratic Action Party] for an amendment of the Constitution of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which, it seems to me, tries to guarantee that the posts of president and vice president of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina will be held by Bosnian Muslims?

[Trnka] For the present, no one is saying whether that will be a Bosnian Muslim.

[Rosic] But the SDA has absolute power in the Assembly, and it will not be difficult to bring that about.

[Trnka] Fine. But the composition of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina is well known, and this does not jeopardize that. The purpose of that amendment is simply to set down in constitutional terms who will

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perform the office of president if the present one should be incapacitated for whatever reason. But I would like to call attention to the fact that the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina may also be perceived as a joint body of all elected deputies. That is, they are not just deputies of the Assembly of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also of the Assembly of the Republic. That is their forum and the place where the political contest takes place.

Domestically Produced Weapons Viewed

95BA0280A Ljubljana OBRAMBA in Slovene
6 Jun 95 pp 28-30

[Article by Janez Kotnik: "From a Hand Cannon to a Mortar"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The change in the political system and the civil war that came with it brought the Croatian state to the brink of almost complete chaos, because the young state did not have any organized armed forces. As we know, the "federation's" measures successfully disarmed Croatia's Territorial Defense, and the beginnings of the new security system showed a serious shortage of almost all types of weapons. It was only through the seizure of some large JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] bases that the Croats obtained a certain number of heavier weapon systems. The culmination of it all was the UN embargo, which allowed the Serbian rebels and later the JNA to rely in their actions upon a large amount of relatively modern weapon systems, and prevented the Croats from being able to arm themselves better with imports from abroad.

In the area of light weapons, in addition to confiscated weapons they were dependent primarily upon various methods of illegal procurement or private initiatives by Croatian citizens who armed themselves—primarily with the assistance of Austrian arms dealers, who profited considerably from this basic human need. If the initial period of the civil war were to be looked at in more detail with respect to our neighbors, we would realize that in many cases the true Croatian armed citizen was the one who defended his own home, and thus Croatia as well, with his personal weapon (bought with his own money). That is not our question, though, and we intend to devote ourselves to another topic—how the arms industry, which in many cases was likewise a private initiative, was developed in Croatia.

First Steps

First of all, various "amateur" products appeared on the Croatian battlefield, such as simple submachine guns, Sokac and Agram, which are relatively easy to produce. They were followed by more complex systems, such as the first Croatian pistol, the 9-mm P PHP, and the ERO submachine gun, which is a copy of the Israeli Uzi. The fact is that the development of weapons is a very difficult matter, which causes enormous problems for the producer, especially if people who do not have any experience at all are handling the weapon projects. Even if you try to copy a foreign manufacturer's products, you will run into big problems, and, if you decide on a completely new project, well, that is a completely "new swimming technique." History has shown that the most successful designers of military weapons were those who also really knew what a soldier needed on the battlefield. Excellent examples are the Russian designer Kalashnikov, or the Israelis Uziel Gal and Israel Galil, who successfully used their experience in developing their weapons.

In Croatia as well there were gifted designers who produced several interesting modern weapon designs. Thus, the designer (for understandable reasons we cannot name him) first followed the trends in the design of large-caliber sniper rifles, and produced the MACS sniper rifle with a caliber of .50 BMG—12.7 x 99, which has the same ballistic properties as other weapons of this type. With the use of modern materials, the weight of that rifle is only 8.5 kilograms, which is a sort of record, because similar rifles weigh from 9.5 to as much as 13.5 kilograms. Another characteristic is its folding stock, which reduces the length of the rifle in such a way that it is easier to transport.

Hand Cannon

The next step was the manufacture of a hand cannon, a weapon weighing 17.5 kg with a 20-mm caliber, which fires shells from the well-known three-barrel M55 antiaircraft cannon. We can confidently say that this weapon is a real miracle of design.

First of all, we ought to clarify the term we used to name that weapon. In the professional literature, you will find various terms for this class of weapon. Our northern neighbors thus named a similar project an antimateriel rifle. The Steyr firm, on the basis of an order from the Austrian Armed Forces, began to develop the IWS 2000 weapon system, which was to fire a completely new type of ammunition with a caliber of 14.55 mm and 15.2 mm. That ammunition was to have subcaliber projectiles that would be capable of penetrating a 40-mm thick armored plate at 1,000 meters. They have been developing this project for a full four years now, but still have not achieved a final project that would satisfy the requirements. We called the Croatian project a "hand cannon"; the adjective "hand" comes from the fact that just one soldier is required (fires it and carries

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it), and "cannon" because it uses cannon ammunition and fires shells.

Unfortunately, the 20-mm hand cannon (Hispano ammunition) has already been tested in battle. Reports are coming from Bosnia that the Croatian forces are successfully using it in conflicts.

As we see from the photograph, the hand cannon has a breech and receiver group that are reminiscent of the Mauser system. The stock, the pistol grip, and the trigger mechanism are the bull-pup system, and thus significantly reduce the total length of the weapon; those parts are made out of artificial materials. At the mouth of the barrel there is a gas baffle, which can reduce the weapon's recoil by about 65 percent; obviously the one used for the hand cannon is very effective, because it can reduce the recoil of such a powerful round as a 20-mm one with an antiaircraft shell to a level that can be endured by a soldier who fires it "from his hand." It is more likely that the cylinder attached to the upper side of the barrel also helps to reduce the recoil. It is obviously a sort of gas shock-absorbing system that helps to reduce the recoil. Both parts are made out of titanium, because only something that light can reduce the weapon's weight so fantastically. Since we are talking about the weight, let us note for the sake of information that similar hand cannons or antitank rifles were already produced back in the 1930's. A good example is the Finnish 20-mm light antitank cannon or the German S18-1000 of the same caliber, which weighed from 36 to 40 kg. For the aiming device, they used a modified firing scope, which has a spirit level (at long distances, the adjustment of the barrel is very important) and an aiming table that permits firing at up to 2,000 meters. Mass-produced attachable legs support all of it.

Ammunition

In order for you to understand better what sort of weapon has been put in the hands of Croatian fighters, it is best that we take a look at the ammunition fired by the above-mentioned hand cannon.

The ammunition is basically intended for an antiaircraft cannon, and has three types of different projectiles, namely a 20-mm M57 cartridge with a tracer-scatter-incendiary-destructive projectile, the same projectile without the indicating (tracer) compound, and an incendiary-penetrating projectile. The shell with the tracer compound added is usually not used with the hand cannon because there is a high possibility that the trail of the tracer compound will betray the shooter's position. The shell is composed of an iron casing, to which a contact detonator is screwed inside the shell, and there is also an explosive charge (trotyl). The shell is painted red and has a total weight of 132-137 grams, of which the explosive charge accounts for 6 to 12.1 grams. The round that has a shell painted black with a red rim is the incendiary-penetrating one.

With that kind of fire potential, an individual shooter is capable of destroying all types of "soft" targets, except for tanks, which have the heaviest protection. Suddenly, the firepower of an infantry soldier is increased enormously, because he gets a weapon—a *cannon*—that is capable of destroying almost any of the enemy's mechanized weapons and some fortified positions at a distance of up to 2 kilometers. The most important thing about all this is that the weapon is extremely mobile (because one soldier can carry it), in comparison with other weapon systems that have the same range and effectiveness, and it is also extremely cheap. On the other hand, it may be expected that a modern army has an enormous amount of (expensive) equipment, all of which is a potential target for such a shooter. For example, in order to neutralize an enemy that is destroying your bunker crews with such a weapon from about 1,200 meters away, you have to use heavy artillery—if he wants to wait for you at that position, of course. Of course, that is not even mentioning a guerrilla or saboteur, who could creep up on you from the rear and destroy whatever he wants from a distance.

40 x 46 Mortar

The third product from the same Croatian designer is a 40-mm multiple-shot mortar. The designer modeled this product after a South African multiple-shot mortar. The South Africans, through combat use of single-shot mortars, came to the realization that a soldier armed with that kind of weapon has too little firepower.

An infantry detachment's firepower is significantly increased by that kind of revolver-type six-shot mortar. A soldier who is armed with a multiple-shot mortar—call him a "bomber"—is capable, within a very short period of time, of setting up a smokescreen or firing a large mass of barrage fire, which is necessary if we want, for example, to defend against an ambush. In this case he can load his mortar with different 40-mm ammunition, which further increases his effectiveness. For example, first of all we fire three scatter bombs at an attacker in ambush, and then use the others to set up a smokescreen, behind which we reorganize our detachment and either carry out a counterattack or withdraw.

The mortar has a folding stock, which is folded upward across the sight and the barrel. Under the grooved barrel there is a central grip, and behind it we see a latch, with which we trigger the revolving mechanism of the drum

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(if the load is defective or if we do not have the right ammunition). In the pistol grip there is a double-action trigger mechanism, which does not have to be strained. The sight is a collimative one, which means that in a small tube we see a red dot, which we aim at the target; in this case we look with both eyes. We can conclude from the markings on the sight that the mortar has a useful range of up to 400 meters.

We load the mortar by pressing the catch on the rear wall of the drum and moving the pistol grip 90 degrees to the right. When we have put in the loads, we simply push the pistol grip back, in order for the catch to snap into its socket. In order to be able to fire the entire drum, it is necessary to turn it clockwise, thus winding the revolving mechanism that drives it. Then we only keep pressing until we fire the entire drum.

With that kind of infantry weapon, Croatian units have gained even more in firepower, and likewise information is coming from our neighbors that they are also producing ammunition for mortars. This is essentially a repetition of the story from other conflicts, in which the UN, through an embargo on arms exports to specific countries, tried (justified or not) to stop the conflict. Countries like South Africa, Iran, Iraq, and of course Croatia, lacking weapons, are helping or have helped themselves by developing their own arms industry.

Multiple-Rocket Launcher Specifications

95BA0281C Zagreb VELEBIT in Serbo-Croatian 2 Jun 95 p 20

[Unattributed article: "LVLR 70 M93A2 Light Multiple-Rocket Launcher"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In a very short time, 70-mm multiple-rocket launchers meeting the world standard in quality and precision have been developed and put into series production in the Republic of Croatia. The LVLR 70 M93A2 multiple launcher is intended for opening surprise and strong fire strikes against targets discovered with weak protection.

These are the features of the LVLR:

- 40-barrel multiple-rocket launcher;
- Rockets can be launched individually or in bursts from two to 40 rockets;
- The time required to fire a burst of the fully loaded launcher is 20 seconds;
- At a range of 8,000 meters, 40 rockets equipped with high-explosive fragmentation warheads pound a zone 200 x 300 meters;
- The built-in autotest (computer-controlled) quickly detects faults in the equipment;
- The empty launcher can be drawn at a speed up to 80 km/hr over asphalt roads, up to 50 km/hr on macadam roads, and up to 25 km/hr off the road;
- The launcher loaded with rockets can be drawn at a speed up to 50 km/hr over asphalt roads, up to 30 km/hr on macadam roads, and up to 15 km/hr off the road.

Technical Specifications of the LVLR

Caliber	70 mm
Barrel length	1,600 mm
Launcher weight	920 kg empty, 1,220 kg loaded
Launcher length	3,100 mm
Launcher width	1,850 mm
Launcher height	1,350 mm
Traverse and elevation	Traverse + 15° (option 360°); elevation - 1° to 46°
Sights	UN-2
Preparation time	2 min
Distance of crew at firing time	25 m from launcher; control device—mechanical, threaded spindle, with diametral pitch for elevation and traverse

Technical Specifications of the RAK 70 M93A2 Rocket

Range	Max 9,000 m
Weight	7.5 kg
Length	1,030 mm
Caliber	70 mm
Maximum speed	Approximately 470 m/s
Temperature range	- 30°C to + 45°C

Independent TV Annouces Cooperation With RTL

AU1307105695 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jul 95 p 2

[Report by Ivancica Knapic: "Commerciality Guarantees Independence"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zagreb—The signing of a protocol on cooperation between the German Television Network RTL and Independent Television (NTV), the

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NTV's participation in a public competition for television concessions at the Zagreb city level, and the registration of NTV shareholders were the topics of the NTV news conference held on Monday [10 July].

Silvije Hum, director of NTV, in his opening address spoke about the initial success of RTL, today one of the best known European television networks which, according to him, completely changed Germany's media space when it was established 11 years ago. "Without NTV, the Croatian television program would not be the same. RTL's and NTV's goals are the same—to create a television program that people will watch not just because it is the only one and because they are paying the subscription, but because it is up to date and interesting. Our program choices are the same—information and entertainment," Hum said.

A video was also shown in which RTL was presented as the most profitable and popular European station, which, it was said, owes its success precisely to a well thought out program comprising over 60 percent of its own production. The video also mentioned NTV, which was founded by a handful of people who were primarily aware of the fact that commerciality guarantees a television station's independence. Similar to RTL, the main program guidelines encompass information and entertainment, that is, a quality information program and a good entertainment program. In creating the program, NTV will strive to be innovative, original, and diverse, and it will particularly strive to produce its own programs.

The result of talks on cooperation between the RTL and NTV is the signing of a protocol on cooperation which Pavle Perovic, Dr. Helmut Thom's envoy, signed on behalf of RTL, and Vesna Dejanovic, president of the NTV joint-stock company signed on behalf of the NTV. Mutual interest particularly pertains to cooperation on the procurement of equipment for the broadcasting of the television signal, the exchange of television news and other information on Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, setting up of an NTV logistics base via which information would be disseminated, technical service for RTL crews in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, broadcasting of certain RTL programs on NTV, RTL's assistance in the future training of NTV crews, making RTL an NTV shareholder up to the legally permitted 25 percent of all capital in a joint-stock company (pursuant to Article 55 of the Law on Telecommunications).

Mladen Vilfan, one of the founders of NTV, invited the public to buy shares in order to increase the NTV's capital. This will soon be published in the press. Vilfan stressed that it was important that the NTV, as an influential television station which is also a joint-stock company, should not be limited to a narrow circle of people, but should include all Croatian citizens who wish to be shareholders, and added: We welcome even the smallest of shareholders. One share of the stock is worth 100 German Marks.

FRY Army Instructors Training Serbs in Tenja

AU1207190195 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jul 95 p 4

[Article by Mirko Sajler: "Arkan and Hadzic in Tenja"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Osijek—The public prosecutor in Osijek has brought charges against the, for the time being, unknown commander of the terrorist group in Tenja for war crimes against the civilian population. Tenja, a suburb of Osijek where the Serb rebellion in the Osijek region had first started, is now a center used by Serb extremists to launch terrorist attacks against the outskirts and the town of Osijek. So far several attacks have been registered, in which four civilians have been killed, and there has also been an attack on a city bus line. A plane flying over Osijek was shot down, on which occasion a citizen of Osijek was killed by flak as he was following the flight of the plane from his balcony.

It is obvious that war criminal Zeljko Raznjatovic Arkan and Goran Hadzic, former president of the so-called Republic of Serbian Krajina, have united again to preserve everything that has been captured in Croatia. In Tenja now there is a center for military training, holding some 200 former Serb soldiers from western Slavonia, who were either pardoned or freed after the court procedure. They are now in a position of convicts that have to face the front line. In Tenja there are also some 2,000 other citizens of western Slavonia that will have to live there as "human shields." There are also some forcefully mobilized citizens of Croatia there.

The instructors of the Yugoslav Army, or rather the Novi Sad Corps, are also in Tenja, where they are currently training the western Slavonians and those forcefully mobilized. Arkan and Hadzic are monitoring this training as morale boosters. Arkan's "tigers" are also there to set an example. They have also been staging constant sabotage attacks on the unoccupied parts of Croatia, in which there have been several civilian casualties so far.

RSK Assembly Delay: Krajina MP's Denied Entry

LD1207145895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1357 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Mirkovci, 12 Jul (TANJUG)—A session of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK]

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Assembly, which should have started at 1300 today, has not been held. By 1500, only deputies from eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem had arrived in Mirkovci. Other deputies were turned back by the Vukovar police at the crossing to this part of the Republic of Serb Krajina near Tovarnik.

There have been no official statements on the reasons for this action. RSK President Milan Martic arrived in Mirkovci around 1400. His comment on the newly created situation was: "Incorrect."

The RSK president then said he would hold a news conference within 30 minutes, but it has not happened. Around 1500, Martic left Mirkovci, saying he was going to Belgrade where he is to have consultations in Hotel Mladost with deputies who were not allowed to enter the eastern part of Krajina to attend the rescheduled RSK Assembly.

The appointment of the new Krajina government, which was put forward by prime minister designate Milan Babic, developments in Western Slavonia, and the accommodation of refugees from this part of the RSK, should have been examined at today's session.

Disagreement on Venue Cited

AU1207155595 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The session of the Assembly of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], which, as announced, was supposed to elect a new government and analyze the reasons for the fall of western Slavonia after Croatia's aggression at the beginning of May, and which was scheduled to take place in Mirkovci at 1300 [1100 GMT], has still not started. Circles close to the Assembly chairman do not rule out the possibility of the session not being held today at all.

Let us recall, prior to the Krajina Assembly session, which was originally supposed to be held on 10 July, both deputy chairmen of the RSK Assembly, Boro Bogunovic and Djordje Damjanovic, and heads of the Beli Manastir, Dalj, (?Cerna), and Vukovar municipalities issued a statement in which they raised objections to the proposed composition of the new government and the venue.

The signatories of the statement warn that none of the top state officials, nor ministers of the more important ministries, come from that part of the RSK. They also sharply criticized the new prime minister designate for proposing to reduce the number of ministries. In their view, this would bring new difficulties in cooperation between the ministries of the RSK and Serbia. They stressed that the only just and honest solution for all would be to call new, early elections and form a nonparty, expert government whose only task would be to prepare these elections.

Here is what Borislav Mikelic, who did not win a vote of confidence of the RSK Assembly deputies in Knin in May, said about the proposals that the session of the RSK Assembly be held in Mirkovci and that number of ministries be reduced.

[Begin Mikelic recording] I think that the view and demand of the leaderships of four communes from eastern Slavonia, Srem, and Baranja and the two Assembly deputy chairmen that Mirkovci is not a suitable venue was absolutely justified, because it is a well-known fact that the Assembly met in Borovo Selo on 18 May and discussed the aggression on western Slavonia. The Assembly had set up a commission for conclusions, but the government was ousted at the following session during a discussion on unification. The idea of setting up a new government in Mirkovci is obviously meant to cause new rifts in eastern Slavonia, Srem, and Baranja and even greater dissatisfaction.

I think that their stand is justified because the new prime minister designate, Mr. Babic, has not carried out any consultations with the municipal leaderships, with official leaderships in the municipalities in eastern Slavonia, Srem, and Baranja, but has done it of his own accord obviously toeing the party line. He has decided to reduce the number of ministries from 17 to 13. The aim is obvious. He wants to make Knin an even stronger base and in this way preserve the concentration of power in Knin. Other areas would only serve as some kind of auxiliary means for the future government.

I would also like to stress another example. The 85,000 residents of Banija are envisaged to provide only one minister, the minister for transportation and communications. It is in fact unacceptable that such a region with five municipalities and a developed economy should only provide a minister for transportation and communications. And yet, the president of the republic, the chairman of the Assembly, the prime minister, the defense minister, and other ministers would all come from Knin. [end recording]

Session Rescheduled for 13 Jul

AU1207183295 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 11 Jul 95

[Telephone report by Zoran Popovic from Knin]

[FBIS Translated Text] Although scheduled to begin today, the extraordinary session of the RSK [Republic of Serb Krajina] Parliament will take place tomorrow in Mirkovci, eastern Slavonia. The session will reopen

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a discussion on the responsibility for the fall of western Slavonia, and RSK Prime Minister-Designate Milan Babic is expected to list the members of his cabinet.

[Popovic] At tomorrow's meeting of the RSK Parliament, the Republic of Serb Krajina will most probably get a new government, which would break an almost two-month deadlock in the functioning of the state apparatus.

Apart from that, the responsibility for the fall of western Slavonia and a discussion on accommodating refugees from the area will also be on the agenda. The RSK Assembly will be in session at the time when the Croatian Army is concentrating its forces along the separation zone, but also at the time of increasing political pressure that reaches the public through the media. Now that the political quibbling between the two most influential people in Knin, Milan Martic and Milan Babic, has calmed down, some want to create new rifts, this time by saying that Krajina is ruled by Knin alone. They contend that the relations can be settled only by means of new elections, and eastern Slavonia has been their trump card for a while. However, others say that the raising of political dust around eastern Slavonia is actually the fight to control the financial and material resources of that part of Krajina.

In keeping with the saying "divide and conquer," some centers of power forget that the reorganization and professionalization of the army, which requires a strong state apparatus and sound financial backing, is under way in Krajina.

Group Calls For Legal Aid for Imprisoned Serbs

LD1207142395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1227 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 12 (TANJUG)—Society of Serbs from the Republic of Krajina and from the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia in Belgrade Wednesday appealed to the Bar of Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to organize legal assistance to the Serbs in Croatia's prisons.

In a statement given to TANJUG, the society warns that the imprisoned Serbs, primarily civilians, were "exposed to torture" and that trials are being prepared for them in prisons.

"It has unequivocally been shown that these trials would not be regular and that neither the investigative nor the court proceedings would not be respected," warned the statement.

The Serbs have been given ex officio lawyers, who were blackmailing the prisoners' families, asking 2,000 German marks each in advance to allegedly procure for them to stand trial out of prison, the statement said.

"The lawyers from Serbia and Yugoslavia should, the statement said, also animate their colleagues in the European countries to prevent the killing of Serbs in Croatian jails and human rights violations."

In Croatian Army's aggression on the Republic of Serb Krajina's western Slavonia region on May 1 and 2, a total of 3,300 Serb civilians and 1,000 soldiers were killed and 15,000 Serb civilians expelled from the territory, Yugoslav Government information says.

Hundreds of Serbs have after the Croatian aggression been imprisoned in Croatian jails.

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Albanian Delegation 'Satisfied' With Talks

AU1207135995 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 11 Jul 95

[Telephone report by Ibadete Hajrullahu from Skopje]

[FBIS Translated Text] On the first day of its official visit to Skopje, the Albanian parliamentary delegation presided over by Mr. Eduard Selami met with the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] parliamentary commission for foreign policy. Mrs. (Elinka Mitrova) first briefed the Albanian delegation on the structure and composition of the Macedonian parliament and then greeted Albania's admission to the Council of Europe.

Eduard Selami expressed his desire that Macedonia be soon admitted to this important European organization if this is of mutual benefit. He recalled that Albania was among the first countries to recognize Macedonia and added that it will always react when it is a question of the status of the Albanians in Macedonia. We praise the contribution rendered by Albanians in Macedonia, Selami said, and will be committed to further advancing their status in conformity with the demands presented to the government and international organizations.

On this occasion, the Albanian side recalled that a Macedonian minority comprising 2 percent of the population lives in Albania and their status has been integrated into the constitution in a special way. All those present understood this as a reaction of the Albanian side to the efforts of a housekeeper not to operate with concrete figures. [sentence as heard]

Albanians in Macedonia and Macedonians in Albania constitute important factors in setting up and strengthening the relations between the two countries. Open issues of Albanians should be resolved without national euphoria and extremes, but in an objective and institutional way through dialogue.

After the meeting, they stressed the need for the two countries to be expeditiously involved in the European integration processes. Precisely for this reason, they urged the acceleration of the democratic processes. Mutual commitment means establishing cooperation and raising the level of neighborly friendship, particularly in the economic spheres of energy and transportation.

The Albanian parliamentary delegation presided over by Eduard Selami also met with Macedonian Parliament Chairman Stojan Andov and Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski, but without the presence of reporters.

Following these meetings, Selami made a short statement for correspondents, underlining that they were satisfied with the talks, not because problems had been resolved, about which they have no illusions, but because the Macedonian side was open and sincere. [Words indistinct] mutual desire that the problems be resolved fairly, expressed optimism for increasing the relations between the two countries.

The Albanian delegation is expected to meet with other Skopje authorities tomorrow. During the talks, the Albanian delegation was accompanied by the Albanian ambassador in Skopje, Shaban Murati.

'Anxiety' Over Albanians 'Justified'

AU1207170595 Skopje MIC in English 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The speaker of the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Parliament Stojan Andov yesterday received the delegation of the foreign politics commission of the Albanian National Assembly, which is staying on a four-day official visit to Macedonia. The delegation also met with Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski. It was assessed in the talks that there are no obstacles for the cooperation between the two countries not to develop and progress, and to solve a number of questions that are of mutual interest.

NOVA MAKEDONIJA and VECER report that in the talks with the appropriate commission of the Macedonian Parliament, the guests from Albania brought forward the initiative for opening the border between the two countries for the flow of people and goods, which is not restricted with the visa regime.

The delegation said that Albania regards its anxiety over the rights of the Albanians in Macedonia as justified, with an assessment that question should not be viewed exclusively as an internal affair and that the problems have to be solved through the work of the Parliament.

The Macedonian side pointed out that all the laws in the Macedonian Parliament are reviewed by the European institutions and organizations, and that all key decisions Macedonia made in the past two years and more (like the Constitution, Referendum, etc.) did not come across reservation in the international circles and, as concerns the political life, all the citizens have full freedom to get organized, which certainly also applies to the Albanians. By avoiding to specify any numbers, and respecting the fact that Albania recognizes the minorities in its country, it was noted it would be good to hear that Macedonians also live in other parts of Albania, except for those generally known.

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Labor Minister Not To Meet U.S. Counterpart

WS1207135395 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 Jul 95 p 2

[Article by CEG, TW: "Postcommunists Are Not Very Popular in the United States"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "We are worried by the processes of recommunization in Central and East Europe," representatives of the U.S. Administration are saying off the record. The first reaction to this is to be the fact that Polish Labor Minister Leszek Miller will not be received by his American counterpart Robert Reich. The head of our Labor Ministry will only meet with lower-ranking officials.

The official reason for the refusal is that the labor secretary will not be in Washington at that time. According to unofficial information, however, Reich refused to meet with Miller after becoming familiar with his record. As we were told, he did not want to unnecessarily expose himself to assaults from the Republicans, who are sensitive to postcommunist politicians in Central Europe.

Moreover, the prime minister, who will take part in the jubilee session of the United Nations this autumn, will not meet with leading U.S. politicians, either. In this case, however, the reason for the refusal is not Jozef Oleksy's record.

The Americans have adopted the principle that no meetings with representatives of the U.S. Administration will be held during the session. This is because President Bill Clinton would have to meet with all the 180 prime ministers and presidents who come to New York if he did not want to offend anyone.

Walesa Receives German Bundestag Delegation

LD1207132495 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1218 GMT 12 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 12 Jul—President Lech Walesa today received a delegation of the CSU [Christian Social Union] National Group at Bundestag. The meeting was attended, among others, by Bundestag Deputy President Hans Klein; Michael Gloss, chairman of the CSU National Group; and the following federal ministers: Posts and Telecommunication Minister Wolfgang Boetsch; Health Minister Horst Seehofer; Carl-Dieter Spranger, minister of Economic Cooperation and Development; and Finance Minister Theo Waigel. Polish Foreign Minister Wladyslaw Bartoszewski was also present, the presidential press office announced.

The meeting lasted over an hour. Internal matters and the issues of Poland's access to NATO and the European Union were discussed.

In the president's view, today's Germany is playing a great role on the European scene and understands the needs and challenges of the future. Poland's speedy integration with structures of the West will enable problems known from the past in Polish-German relations to be eliminated. "Fashioning Polish-German relations on the model of French-German relations is a difficult task. Nobody stood in the way of such a fashioning of cooperation between the French and the Germans. We also want such cooperation; the border which unites, and good neighborly relations. Today, it only depends on us...," the communique by the presidential press office says.

Walesa Undecided on Veto of Privatization Law

LD1307100195 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0922 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 13 Jul—President Lech Walesa has not yet decided whether to veto the Law on Commercialization and Privatization of State Enterprises, presidential spokesman Leszek Spalinski told journalists today after the meeting between the president and the prime minister. He said that there is a 55 percent chance that the president will veto the law.

Spalinski said that this morning the president met a delegation of the Union of Freedom [UW] (Bronislaw Geremek, Tadeusz Syryjczyk and Wladyslaw Frasyniuk). The UW leaders asked the president to veto the commercialization law.

[Warsaw PAP in Polish at 0849 GMT on 13 July adds: "The meeting between President Lech Walesa and Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy on 13 July lasted about 40 minutes. The meeting began at 1000. Leaving the Presidential Palace, the prime minister did not make any comment on the meeting to journalists."]

Oleksy 'Satisfied' After Talks With Walesa

LD1307124595 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1144 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 13 Jul—Asked by journalists before the government meeting about his talks today with the president, Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy said that he did not go there to "force the president" to sign the Law on Commercialization and Privatization of State Enterprises. "I presented arguments behind the government's decision and the president is an independent element of power," Oleksy said. He added that he was satisfied with his talks with Lech Walesa.

The prime minister stressed that he was using concrete arguments for signing the law as "not signing this law will not solve anything. It will halt, however, the actions

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which are possible and necessary in the process of privatization today."

Asked whether he managed to convince Lech Walesa, the prime minister replied that the president does not make hasty decisions and he has been considering the issue for some time; he gathers all arguments, receives various delegations and petitions, various appeals on this issue, and he is going to make an independent decision. The prime minister said that he also talked with the president about the security in the state and about "many other topical issues."

Poll Shows Oleksy More Popular Than Walesa

WS1307103395 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Jul 95 p 2

[Article by "R.W.": "Social Research Laboratory for RZECZPOSPOLITA; The Prime Minister Makes a Better Prime Minister Than the President a President"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The number of those who are dissatisfied with the way Prime Minister Oleksy is performing in office is growing with each passing month. The head of the government, however, continues to do better than the president. The assessment of the way President Walesa performs in office has not changed much—negative opinions continue to prevail. The poll is carried out on a monthly basis for RZECZPOSPOLITA by the Social Research Laboratory [PBS]. The most recent one was conducted in the end of June.

No Major Change on Walesa

At the beginning of last year, Lech Walesa received clearly better notices than he currently does: Slightly more than half of those polled did not agree with the way he performed, nearly 30 percent did not have any critical remarks, and under twenty percent did not have an opinion. The results quickly turned worse, approximating the current ones. The president has had slightly worse months (for example October and November of last year), and better ones (last summer, immediately after the new government was formed). Generally speaking, however, the opinions do not change much. As a rule—and June was no different—slightly less than 20 percent of those polled approve of the way Lech Walesa performs as president, approximately 70 percent disapprove, and the rest do not have any opinion.

Approval for the president's activities grows together with the age of those polled, and declines as their education is higher. Walesa's strongest supporters tend to be senior citizens, including pensioners, people who have only elementary education, housewives, unskilled workers. Yet even within each of those groups, a mere 20-30 percent of respondents approve.

Answers clearly depend on the political views held by those polled. Supporters of Solidarity are the only group which is rather "for" than "against" (47 and 36 percent, respectively). The style of the current presidency relatively often appeals to potential voters for the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms [BBWR] and the right. Opponents are more often than not those who support the governing coalition—the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] and the Polish Peasant Party [PSL].

The Group of Oleksy's Opponents Is Growing

The number of people approving of how Prime Minister Oleksy performs his duties remains practically stable ever since he took over his office—each month this figure hovers around 40 percent. The supporters are predominantly people on high posts, farmers, and those willing to vote for SLD, PSL, and the Union of Labor.

Those who have thus far been "undecided" are visibly joining the "dissatisfied." In March, a few weeks after Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy took office, 45 percent said "difficult to say," as compared with 27 percent in June. In the same period, the number of those who criticized the head of the cabinet doubled from 17 to 35 percent. This group now includes many private entrepreneurs, inhabitants of large cities, state company employees, and those willing to vote for the rightist coalitions, the Confederation for an Independent Poland, "Solidarity," and the BBWR.

Between March and June, the proportions between the opponents and supporters of "Oleksy's style" changed considerably. In March, the former were twice as numerous as the latter, whereas currently both groups are nearly equal.

The most recent opinions on Prime Minister Oleksy resemble those on Prime Minister Pawlak in the first quarter of last year, after he had spent a comparable time in office as head of cabinet. The results, however, are far better than the ones Pawlak had near the end of his mission—19 percent for as compared with 64 percent against.

The report was based on monthly opinion polls carried out by the Social Research Laboratory for RZECZPOSPOLITA. The most recent poll was carried out on 24-25 July 1995 on a sample group of 1,030 people representative of the adult population of Poland.

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Conservatives Criticize Coalition's Tax Policy

WS1207135195 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 12 Jul 95 p 2

[Article by "DOM": "Conservatives Criticize Government: Commercialization Serves Coalition"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Conservative Coalition [KK] believes that the Finance Ministry gives tax breaks primarily to companies linked with postcommunists.

"The decisions which have recently been made by the coalition strengthen the dominant position of entrepreneurs linked with the Democratic Left Alliance and the Polish Peasant Party," KK Leader Kazimierz Michal Ujazdowski told journalists yesterday.

He criticized the Law on Commercialization and Privatization, which, he believes, will make it even easier for the coalition to appoint its own people to high posts in state-owned companies.

Ujazdowski also said that development of private enterprise is being restricted because state officials favor large state-owned companies "linked to the present authorities." "In the third and fourth quarter of last year, at the recommendation of the Finance Ministry, the downtown Warsaw tax office granted tax breaks to these companies or annulled their debts; the sum involved was 7.5 trillion old zlotys. Fourteen decisions concerned the sum of Z7.3 trillion old zlotys. The favorites of the Finance Ministry were, among others, Rolimpex, Cenzin, Telekomunikacja, and Bank Handlowy," said Ujazdowski.

Study Disproves Complaints of Unfair TV Coverage

WS1207144595 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 10 Jul 95 p 5

[Article by Agnieszka Kublik: "Politicians on the Screen; Television and Its Favorites"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Charges raised by coalition politicians against Polish Television [TVP] boil down to: "We are not shown often enough and not in the way we would wish." They are launching their attacks primarily on 'Wiadomosci' [main newscast on First Program], sparing 'Panorama' [main newscast on Second Program]. Indeed, we do see them more often in the Second Program news! Such is the finding of the Center for Research on Public Opinion [OBOP] and the TVP Programming Bureau.

Inactive Opposition

In all newscasts on the First Program, coverage of the government's activities make up 4 percent of their air time, while in 'Panorama'—twice as much, with 8.5 percent. 'Panorama' gives more information on the coalition—4 percent as compared with 2.9 percent in the First Program newscasts.

Head of the Television News Agency [TAI] Jacek Bochenek gives the following explanation: "'Wiadomosci' are more of a real news program, while 'Panorama' provides more commentaries. That is why it shows the coalition politicians more often."

"Why not all politicians, both leftist and rightist?" "Because the coalition is exerting pressure on us to show them more often." "Do you yield to that pressure?" "Of course not, but they send us heaps of information each day. The opposition is very inactive in this sense."

Bochenek refutes the coalition's charges that the newscasts manipulate statements issued by politicians from the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]. "We would have to assume that the politicians themselves are manipulative in issuing their statements, because the majority of our programs is what the politicians actually say, and not commentaries."

Attacks From the Left, Attacks From the Right

When speaking of manipulation, the coalition politicians often complain that 'Wiadomosci' have been dominated by the right. They argue that 'Wiadomosci' employs reporters with clearly rightist views, for example Piotr Skwiecinski (deputy editor of the newscast), or reporter Agnieszka Romaszewska.

The right, on the other hand, accuses 'Panorama' that it has Slawomir Zielinski as its political editor—the same man who was unsuccessfully suggested by Aleksander Kwasniewski and Marek Siwiec (both from SLD) for the post of TAI head.

Skwiecinski laughs: "It is impossible for one person to manipulate anything. All the materials are first seen by the senior editor, the chief editor, and the duty editor. The Romaszewska story is untrue. She covers social, not political issues."

Head of 'Panorama' Jaroslaw Grzelak: "Zielinski could not advertise the coalition even if he wanted to."

What the Politicians Do Not Know

The OBOP poll show charges that the First Program is more rightist than the Second Channel to be unfounded: The First Program shows PSL and SLD politicians more often (28 percent of all newscasts) than the Second Program (16 percent).

An analysis of the poll results shows that the coalition and the government may count on larger support from reporters on 'Panorama' than on 'Wiadomosci.' The

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authors of current affairs programs, on the other hand, favor them more on the First Program than on the Second Program.

The Second Program shows the Freedom Union more frequently than the First Program does. It is, however, the only opposition party that gets statistically measurable coverage. "See! And they are accusing us of a rightist slant," laughs Bochenek.

The Mass Viewer Is Most Important

The poll finding that coalition politicians appear more often in current affairs and entertainment programs than in the newscasts is just as surprising. The government uses as much as one-fourth of the total broadcasting time on the First Program and just as much on the Second Program—only a few percent of that are newscasts! For the politicians, however, the main edition of 'Wiadomosci' is most important. It is watched by 16 million Poles daily, as compared with the approximated 4 million who watch 'Panorama' at 2100. As the president's most recent visit at Woronicza [street where Polish Television is housed] has shown, the politicians are well acquainted with these figures—Lech Walesa knew them by heart!

Law Drafted To Regulate Arms Trade

WS1207135295 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 10 Jul 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Artur Golawski: "Unprecedented Regulations: Special Trade Under Tight Control"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Foreign arms trade should be regulated by a special, separate document with the legal status of an act. As such a document has not existed in our legislation thus far, other legal acts have had to be relied on. Yet the arms trade is a very sensitive area, and not only in economic terms. That is why I have the huge satisfaction of informing that due to the efforts of the Ministry for Foreign Economic Cooperation [MWGzZ], such a law has been drafted and approved by the Defense Committee of the Council of Ministers. In the nearest future (as soon as it is reviewed by the entire Council of Ministers, before the summer holiday season is over), it will be submitted to parliament with an 'urgent' procedural status," head of the Special Trade Department at MWGzZ Jan Straus told journalists.

The law on special trade is important in three aspects: political, legal, and organizational. It is important from the point of view of politics because it shows the whole world (including the EU and NATO) that we have finally regulated the issue legally, that there is no more "Polish free-for-all" in the arms trade, and that we currently meet "civilized" requirements for membership in certain structures. It is legally significant because it not only includes new provisions, but collects and systemizes provisions hitherto dispersed in various other laws, for example the customs law and the law on foreign economic trade. It is also very important from the organizational point of view, in the sense that it introduces law and order.

There are currently three "fully licensed" agencies trading arms in Poland (Cenzin Foreign Trade Company, Cenrex Trade and Services Company, Bumar Foreign Trade Company), and four industrial companies (e.g. the Polish Aviation Plant.) The remaining "sensitive goods" are distributed on the basis of special licenses granted directly to the manufacturers. Director Straus disclosed that a huge number of licenses of this type have been issued—over 40. Anyone who applies will not obtain a license for anything he desires.

The law provides, among other things, for control over the transit of arms through the territory of our country. It is scary to think that no regulations in this field existed thus far. From now on, permits from the relevant authorities will be required for transits. All those who intend to trade arms will have to inform MWGzZ immediately. This will allow avoiding some malpractices, for example competition between Polish dealers which caused losses not only for the trading companies themselves, but for the manufacturers as well. The ministry will issue licenses granting exclusive rights for trading specific types of arms in specific regions of the world, registering all the deals. Each "pending" transaction will require a permit. Reexports of arms will also be regulated. Customs services will be obliged to inform MWGzZ of each transport of arms cleared at the border. Several border crossings will be singled out especially for this purpose. Special teams made up of officers from MWGzZ, the Ministry of National Defense [MON], and the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW] will be established. The draft also provides for penal sanctions for violating the law of up to five years of imprisonment and fines of up to 5 million new zlotys.

"Had this law existed several years ago, we would have never had the rifle affair," says J. Straus. He defied charges claiming the new law is excessively restrictive. Its coming into force should not lead to the bankruptcy of domestic arms traders. "The conditions that have to be fulfilled are not that stringent," maintains Straus. "They are designed primarily for protecting our companies on the difficult international arms trade market. Besides, this is no novelty to them. The majority of solutions we are currently suggesting have been previously used thanks to—let us be honest about it—the huge influence we have on arms traders. We will now have closer ties to

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those traders, which will allow us to react more quickly, warn, and advise."

"The new draft was modeled after the best standards applied in the West," says Director of the Legal Department at MWGzZ Tomasz Wasilewski. "We tried to make the law as perfect as possible and attempted to make its implementation as painless as possible, but that, of course, is an ideal. Will it be really observed? It is difficult to say, we hope it will," he said in answer to the journalists' questions.

Apart from the special trade, the agenda of the 5 July session of the Defense Committee of the Council of Ministers also included the report on the economic aspects of Polish defense and a document on the effect of increasing purchases carried out by MON and MSW on the domestic arms industry. We shall report on these issues shortly.

Ministry Postpones Cellular Network Tender

WS1207144795 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Jul 95 p 1

[Article by Dorota Margas: "GSM Cellular Phone Network; Invitation To Bid"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Contrary to earlier announcements issued by the Ministry of Communications, further details of the establishment of a GSM (Global System for Mobile Communications) cellular telephone network will most probably be disclosed in September, and not in July.

Licenses are to be granted to two operators concurrently before the end of this year.

"The invitation to bid is basically ready, but it still has to be consulted with other ministries," said Eugeniusz Chodukiewicz, director of the Legal Department at the Ministry of Communications. "I think September is a workable date for opening the bidding process."

As we established yesterday, the communications minister has not yet issued any statement on the license fees. The tender documents are not yet ready. The fees have to be approved by the minister of finance.

Interest in the GSM modern cellular telephone system in Poland is great. The communications minister could not announce the tender thus far because legal regulations prohibited him from doing so. It became possible only after the new communications law came into force on 7 July. The Communications Ministry assures that the principles and conditions of issuing the licenses will be compatible with the provisions of that law.

The ministry will grant two GSM licenses simultaneously. In this way it wishes to provide an equal starting part to the operators who receive them. Both will also cooperate with Polish Telecommunications SA on identical conditions. Each GSM operator will be licensed to provide nationwide services. Once they receive the licenses, they will be allowed to lease the same number of radio frequencies on the standard GSM band. Only companies in which Polish capital dominates will be eligible. The ministry emphasizes that licenses will only be issued to companies which are registered in observance of the Polish commercial code and laws on foreign investment in Poland. It also claims that "more than a dozen huge companies have voiced their preliminary interest," among them Ameritech, France Telecom, AT&T, Siemens, Alcatel, and U.S. West.

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PD's Roman Condemns Iliescu's Record

AU1307070895 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 7 Jul 95 p 3

[Unattributed report on statements by PD Leader Petre Roman, published in TRIBUNE DE GENEVE on 1-2 July: "The Balance Sheet of the Roman Government vs. the Balance Sheet of the 'Iliescu Government'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Petre Roman, former Romanian prime minister and currently president of the Democratic Party [PD], is a well known figure at the Crans Montana Forum. "I have missed the Crans Montana meeting only once," he says between offering two greetings and three handshakes.

The mishaps of political life have not clouded his amiable and calm nature. Speaking easily and with style, albeit with a critical spirit, he answers journalists' questions with pleasure. He places the balance sheet of his government against that of President Iliescu. The assertion is serious, Petre Roman compares the vitality of his governments (December 1989, October 1991) with the bottleneck in Romania brought about by his successors: "Since the 1992 elections, the reform has reached a deadlock" he says, adding that "this shows a decline in foreign investment, a clear slowing down of privatization, and general stagnation, which hamper all acts of restructuring the industrial mechanism."

The few positive indexes, he says, in fact hide frightening developments. The stability of the national currency's exchange rate against the U.S. dollar indicates a restrictive monetary policy rather than dynamic enterprise activity. Similarly, current progress is mainly being supported by subsidies rather than the dynamic activity of private initiative.

According to Roman, the commercial balance and the distribution of fiscal revenue would offer a better evaluation of the situation. The first one has brought about, in the first five months of this year, a $5 billion deficit. The second reveals the very reduced level of tax on public corporations' income, half the size of income tax.

These "increasingly centralized" economic orientation, just like the budget options "similar to those practiced by Ceausescu," reveal the real interests of the government majority, which is described by Roman as a coalition including "bureaucrats of the former planned system" (Mr. Iliescu's party), former Stalinists ("whose president is a former prime minister of the Ceausescu regime"), anti-Hungarian nationalists, (Romanian National Unity Party, mainly in Transylvania) and individuals with a fascistic orientation (the Greater Romania Party). Petre Roman says that "in this situation, any kind of liberal initiative is killed in the cradle."

An alliance between the nationalists and former communists would sentence the country to ambiguity and immobility. The government, Petre Roman says, controls television, puts "pressure on local collectivities," and tolerates the abuses of prefects, corrupt people who possess "more power than former Communist Party first secretaries at the county level."

The former prime minister suspects that the head of state has no other goal than "to hold on to power." Being center-oriented, he turns the failure of the current majority into a way of getting closer to the EU. Until that happens, he increases the frequency of his meetings and trips. The general elections are scheduled for autumn 1996.

PD Offers To Support PDSR

AU1307071195 Bucharest COTIDIANUL in Romanian 7 Jul 95 p 2

[Article by "R.S.B., AL": "The Democratic Party Is Willing To Support a Minority PDSR Government Without Extremists"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Democratic Party [PD] would be willing to support a minority PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] government, if the extremist parties were excluded from it, said Bogdan Niculescu-Duvaz yesterday, 6 July, during the party's weekly news conference. This is the response of the PD to recent statements by Adrian Nastase [PDSR executive president] about a possible separation from the current allies of the PDSR. However, the PD leaders do not exclude the possibility that the "comrades' bickering" in the majority coalition might only be a political understanding with the 1996 elections in mind. Or, it might only be a flash in the pan. Adrian Severin [PD vice president] believes that the PDSR should also explain why it brought the extremists into the government and for the current situation prevailing in Romania. Adrian Nastase's statements might in reality be a simple game aimed at further thickening the smokescreen created to hide the real cause of the disaster, namely the PDSR ruling.

Speaker Looks Back on Chamber of Deputies Session

AU1207155695 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 6 Jul 95 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Adrian Nastase, speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, by Cristina Oroveanu; place and date not

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given: "We Are Not Pure and Simple Lawmakers but, Above All, Politicians"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Oroveanu] Mr. Speaker, a few days ago another parliamentary session concluded. How do you assess, from the political and legislative angle, the results of the Chamber of Deputies activity in the February-June session?

[Nastase] The conclusion of the ordinary session of the Chamber of Deputies, the sixth one during the legislative period which began in October 1992, is a good opportunity to sum up and evaluate the activity of the Chamber of Deputies, its panels, and its factions, both in terms of its political implications themselves and from a statistical point of view. One can justifiably claim that the entire parliamentary activity was marked by the transitional period in which Romanian society currently finds itself. This is a period in which the Romanian Parliament has the challenging task, among other things, to mold the legislative framework needed to strengthen the institutions of a law-governed state, to create the appropriate conditions for a civic society to assert itself, and to put into practice the principles of the market economy. I would also include in this new legislative process the activity to ratify certain important international accords, on whose basis Romania is gradually and constantly integrating into the community of European countries.

Last but not least, I would also like to emphasize the importance of parliamentary activity in the democratic confrontation process among the various political forces, especially those parties that are represented in Parliament. Regardless of any political confrontation or the various ways that the balance of forces in society manifest themselves in Parliament, Parliament contributes to the strengthening of political stability, to the creation of a democratic spirit and practice in the exercise of power, its principal tool being majority rule. [passage omitted]

[Oroveanu] How was the legislative activity, statistically speaking, during the parliamentary session that has been concluded?

[Nastase] Statistically, the legislative activity of the Chamber of Deputies in the session that has just ended consists of us debating and passing 85 bills. Of these, 58 have already become law, while 17 are waiting for this. Four of the latter are being examined by the Constitutional Court, as there have been objections to them, while 10 have been sent to be debated in the Senate.

Our chamber's standing committees issued reports and authorizations for 73 draft bills and legislative initiatives, which were forwarded to the Chamber of Deputies during the recently concluded session. Of these, 17 had been passed by the Senate and sent to be debated in the Chamber of Deputies, 18 were legislative initiatives sent to our chamber by the government, while 38 were legislative initiatives proposed by deputies. Currently with our standing committees there are 148 draft bills and legislative initiatives, which are at various stages.

Apart from these impressive statistical figures on draft bills debated and passed, I have to remark that they regulate essential and priority areas for the economic reforms and the restructuring of certain very important elements of social life, such as, for instance, the speeding up of the privatization process, the reorganization and juridical liquidation procedures, the organization of notary activity and the status of notary publics, the organization and conduct of the profession of attorney, education, the establishment of the juridical status of nationalized housing, and so on.

During the same period, the chamber passed a considerable number of government ordinances, by which the general juridical framework was improved and made to meet social needs better.

We also made 24 decisions regulating various aspects of our own organization and parliamentary activity. I am referring, above all, to our decision correcting and supplementing the Chamber of Deputies Regulations, following objections from the Constitutional Court, saying that some parts of that text were unconstitutional; I am also referring to our decision establishing a new structure of the Chamber of Deputies offices.

During the recently ended session our chamber appointed, either on its own or together with the Senate, according to stipulations in the Constitution or other special laws, certain individuals to public offices. Here I am referring to the appointment of a judge to the Constitutional Court, the appointment of the 13 members of the Romanian Radio Broadcasting Company's Administration Board, and the appointment of nine out of the total 13 members of the Romanian Television Company Administration Board. [passage omitted]

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EU Forwards Association Agreement for Ratifying

AU1307090095 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0500 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The European Commission yesterday adopted detailed provisions for the official ratification of the association agreement with Slovenia that will replace the current cooperation agreement that was passed two years ago.

The association agreement, which was formed by Slovenia and the European Commission in the name of the European Union, was initaled on 15 June. It must now be signed and ratified by the EU members, the European Parliament, and, naturally, Slovenia before it becomes valid.

Slovene, Italian Plenipotentiaries Resume Talks

AU1007160995 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 10 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] As SLOVENE PRESS AGENCY [STA] reports, the talks of the plenipotentiaries of the Slovene and Italian Foreign Ministries resumed today and will continue over the next few days.

The plenipotentiaries are primarily discussing a bilateral agreement that is expected to warm up the relations between Ljubljana and Rome. Each side prepared its own draft agreement. STA claims that the Slovene proposal is a lot more balanced and harmonized with the political agreements of the senior representatives of both sides.

So far, the Italian side has insisted on the resolution of the issue of restitution of property of the Italian option-takers [optant], while the Slovene side continues to insist on the validity of the current agreements and proposes the signing of an agreement on the realization of the 1983 Rome Treaty. Slovenia and Croatia inherited this document from the disintegrated Yugoslavia, and, for this reason, Ljubljana insists that the Rome Treaty is still valid.

The Slovene side also proposes the signing of a bilateral agreement on the protection of minorities. However, if the Italian side is not willing to sign such a document, it should at least protect the Slovene minority to the level prescribed by the international legal obligations and grant it the same position as the German and the French minority enjoy.

STA also warns that it is not known yet whether the Italian side would accept a balanced proposal and, thus, facilitated that this document be discussed by the parliaments of both countries.

Protest Continues Against Croatian Border Work

AU0707161795 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 7 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In connection with the construction of the Croatian border-crossing point in Secovlje, the Slovene Foreign Ministry today explained that Slovenia had protested the continuation of work on several occasions.

In mid-June, Slovene Ambassador Matija Malesic protested to Croatian Foreign Minister Granic. Malesic also conveyed his protest to Deputy Foreign Minister Sanader. The Slovene side protested again at a meeting of a group of experts of the diplomatic commission at the end of June.

The Foreign Ministry emphasizes that no violation of the adopted bilateral agreements about preserving the status quo on the border prejudices in the slightest the final decision about the course of the border.

The statement for the public also says that there are no secret agreements with regard to the border, and there will be none. Also, no decisions will be made without prior informing of the public.

FRY-Russian Military Agreement Viewed

95BA0280B Ljubljana OBRAMBA in Slovene 6 Jun 95 p 30

[Unattributed article: "Russia and the So-Called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Have Signed a Military Agreement"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The defense ministers of Russia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], Pavel Grachev and Pavle Bulatovic, have signed a military cooperation agreement. The details regarding the agreement are not known, and its implementation has been hampered by the UN sanctions.

The two countries have agreed that they will cooperate in the areas of training officer personnel, exchanging military delegations, and so forth, according to the Russian press agency Interfax.

Yugoslav sources attribute considerably more political than military significance to the agreement. Both armies are suffering from the same problem, modest funds, but Yugoslavia is in serious need of certain military equipment at this time. Presently, what they need most is attack and medium transport helicopters, heavy artillery, antiair missile systems, training and attack aircraft, and ships. There is a great deal of this available in Russia and the other former Warsaw Pact countries, and even at favorable prices.

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Defense industry cooperation between the two countries is continuing on the basis of the cooperation that was well established even back in the days of the former Yugoslavia, which relied for many years on purchases of weapon systems from the former Soviet Union. The situation is most critical for the FRY in the area of electronics and electro-optics, because those products were supplied to the former Yugoslav defense industry by Slovenia. To be sure, Serbia is attempting to compensate for that part of the production through its own production and through purchases from Russia, but the products are by no means at the same level of quality. The photograph shows a Yugoslav MiG-29, purchased back in the 1980's.

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Federal

War Crimes Office To Begin Work in Belgrade

AU1307075695 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jul 95 p 16

[Article by B.O.I.: "The Hague Tribunal Office Soon in Belgrade"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—NASA BORBA has learned from reliable sources that all formalities regarding the opening of an office of The Hague International Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in Belgrade have been completed. The office is expected to commence work by the end of July. Its premises will be in SIV III [expansion unknown], where UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] also has its offices.

In this way, part of the agreement reached by Richard Goldstone [chief prosecutor at The Hague War Crimes Tribunal] during his visit to Belgrade is actually being realized. The office will perform all jobs necessary to facilitate normal cooperation between the tribunal and Yugoslavia, on which the tribunal has insisted from the very beginning.

Bank Governor: Rapid Growth When Embargo Ends

LD1307093295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0850 GMT 13 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 13 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav National Bank Governor Dragoslav Avramovic said on Wednesday the Yugoslav economy has stabilized and the rapid recovery is in the cards once the sanctions are lifted.

In an interview to REUTERS, Avramovic said he was uncertain when the international community would lift the sanctions against Yugoslavia, but said that, based on the increasing flow of visiting international bankers and businessmen, a lifting was not far away.

"The economy is probably in better shape than most people think it is. The economy is ready. I believe we will meet the challenges facing our economy once the sanctions are lifted," said Avramovic and added that exports would move ahead right away.

Agricultural exports will lead the way, he said, followed by textiles, machinery-making equipment and chemicals.

"There will be a very substantial expansion of trade," he said. "That will lead to an expansion of industrial output."

Speaking about the possibilities of economy overheating and igniting another bout of hyperinflation Avramovic said: "If we are smart enough not to permit it, that won't happen."

The National Bank governor said he did not see any sustained inflation ahead and said he was confident that the government had been sufficiently shocked by the hyperinflation to stick with its program of economic recovery launched in January 1994.

The key to preventing a return of inflation is for the government to keep its budgets balanced, Avramovic said.

Serbia

SPO: Karadzic Trying To Drag FRY Into War

AU1207171495 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jul 95 p 4

[Article by N. Odalovic: "Pale Military Operations Delaying Lifting of Sanctions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "As soon as Serbia and Montenegro come close to having the sanctions lifted, the Pale leadership intensifies its military operations," Ivan Kovacevic, spokesman for the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO], said at a news conference yesterday. Kovacevic described this behavior by Pale "as an already seen scenario of trying to drag Serbia and Montenegro [members of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—FRY] into all-out war."

The SPO expressed grave concern over the flare-up in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the threats by U.S. officials that UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] would be withdrawn from Bosnia-Herzegovina. "UNPROFOR has not halted the destruction, but without it the destruction would have been far greater," Kovacevic said.

Kovacevic particularly concentrated on the opening of the underground station Kod Vuka. "This station, no matter how beautiful, has been marred by a very ugly stain, since it was opened on 7th July, which marked civil war," Kovacevic said, adding: "It is unacceptable that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic spoke on that occasion about the opulence underground, without once mentioning the misery of millions of people above ground."

Montenegro

JUL's Markovic Condems 'Fascist Hatred'

AU1207195995 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 12 Jul 95

[Report by Ljubisav Aleksic]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] In Podgorica, in the atmosphere of celebrating the Uprising Day of the Montene-

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grin people, the Yugoslav Left [JUL] has been holding a rally.

[Aleksic] At the same time, this was the central ceremony with which JUL marked 13 July, the Uprising Day of the People of Montenegro. Stressing that JUL was founded with the aim of uniting all left-oriented parties, while making special reference to the marking of the Uprising Day of Montenegro, Professor Mira Markovic [Milosevic's wife], president of the JUL Directorate, said that the 13 July of 1941 and the 13 July of 1995 have the same meaning.

[Markovic] So long as there is fascist hatred among us and in our society toward other nations and other people, so long as there is a hierarchical humiliation of man, so long as there are poor and helpless people, so long as there are illiterates, and so long as there are hungry children, the platform of the Left will be the most humane and the most noble platform in the world.

[Aleksic] Speaking about JUL's aims, Prof. Markovic stressed that one of the most important aims is the struggle against the degradation of civilization into which the former Yugoslav republics are sinking. When the war ends, the path out of that crisis will therefore be the renewal of broken ties and establishment of new ones among the peoples of the previous Yugoslavia and the Balkans.

[Markovic] And not only the Yugoslav peoples. We are convinced that all Balkan peoples will soon have to find some kind of formula to organize their lives so that they can live together....

[Aleksic] JUL does not strive for equality in poverty, but, as a modern movement of the left, strives for equality in a rich society. In Yugoslavia, we face division on two major political groupings, the Left and the Right. The Right in our country is primitive and militant, which implies a major task for the Left, namely to offer a civilized platform to our society to enter the third millenium, Prof. Markovic said. [passage omitted]

First Private TV Station Begins Broadcasting

AU1307093595 Belgrade POLITIKA EKSPRES in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jul 95 p 23

[FBIS Translated Summary] The first private television station in Montenegro Blue Moon has started broadcasting. It is owned by Milutin Nino Radulovic and Svetlana Barovic and based in the Montenegrin capital of Podgorica. Its signal covers Podgorica and the area around Scutari Lake. The station, which is run by a small and young team, mostly carries films, video clips, and beauty and nutrition programs and plans to launch its own comedy series this fall.

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